

COBBETT'S MAGAZINE.

No. 2.]

MARCH, 1833.

[Vol. I.

CONTENTS.

	Page.
I. FINE ARTS—No. 1. OF THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF THE PICTURES BY THE GREAT MASTERS	93
II. REMINISCENCES OF A TAILOR	102
III. THE APOLOGY OF A PARISIAN GIRL.....	108
IV. DIVARICATION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, INTO DOCTRINE AND HISTORY	109
V. SONNET TO MUSIC	116
VI. ORIGIN OF THE MARSEILLAISE HYMN	117
VII. POLITICAL ETHICS—MUSTARD OR HONEY	119
VIII. CHANGE IN THE TIMES	121
IX. TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE	124
X. LITERARY PUFFING	127
XI. PARLIAMENTARY PRIVILEGES—FREEDOM FROM ARREST.....	131
XII. PORTRAITS OF THE SENATE—No. II.	132
XIII. SONG	134
XIV. SONG	135
XV. SCENES IN THE SISTER ISLAND—No. II.	136
XVI. PATRIOTISM—No. II.	147
XVII. SENECA'S IDEAS OF BOOK-LEARNING	151
XVIII. THE BANK AND ITS CHARTER	152
XIX. MONUMENTS	160
XX. IRELAND.....	169
XXI. NEW PUBLICATIONS	178
XXII. EVENTS OF THE MONTH, PUBLIC DOCUMENTS, &c.	179
XXIII. IMPORTANT FROM CHARLESTON	185
XXIV. THE MARKETS	191

LONDON :

11, BOLT-COURT; AND EFFINGHAM WILSON'S,
ROYAL-EXCHANGE.

NOTICES.

In the article of last month, the "*Journal of a Naturalist*," there is, in page 21, an error in the calculation of the sum per week upon which the labourer can live; it is, that in carrying out the sum of 7½d. and 9d. per day to their respective amount per week, we have, on the two, made them too little, and thus the total should have been 10s. 8d., instead of 10s. As, therefore, the disadvantage was towards our own argument, and as that was complete notwithstanding, we notice it for form's sake rather than anything else.

We wish that the gentleman, whose initials are "E. F.," would send us his address, in order that he may be written to.

Our correspondents will be pleased to make their communications at as *early* a day in each month as they possibly can, directing to the Editor.

COBBETT'S MAGAZINE.

No. 2.]

MARCH, 1833.

[VOL. I.

FINE ARTS.

NO I. OF THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF PICTURES BY THE GREAT MASTERS, PURCHASED BY PARLIAMENT FOR THE NATION (OR PRESENTED BY INDIVIDUALS), AT PRESENT EXHIBITING TO THE PUBLIC, FREE OF EXPENSE, IN PALL-MALL; BUT FOR THE RECEPTION OF WHICH A SPLENDID SUITABLE EDIFICE IS TO BE ERECTED AT THE NATIONAL EXPENSE. &c. &c. London, Jones and Co. 1833.

So! We have a Penny Cyclopædia of Science; a Penny Magazine of shreds and patches and titbits, cut out from the writings of distinguished authors; and now, to harmonize, we suppose, with these unexpensive hebdomadals, trumpeted forth from "the Temple of the Muses," comes the one-shilling "National Gallery of Pictures, by the Great Masters:" and so accommodating, so condescending, so patriotic, so disinterested, are their Muses, or their high priests, that for our single shilling they ostensibly present us with two of such engravings as usually sell at from five to ten shillings each; besides letter-press criticisms, or descriptions perhaps we must call them. Not only the "Schoolmaster," but the Muses—Jones and Co.'s Muses,—and eke "the Graces," are abroad, *pro bono publico*.

What happy times we live in! How much must be benevolently done to benefit the poor, where philosophy condescends to become the hand-maid of humanity; where, even in the borough which Mr. Babbage does *not* represent, the trading tribes disinterestedly administer at once to the improvement of our taste and morals; where paradise is anticipated; where mercantile credit is ennobled into fame, and niches and temples are philanthropically dedicated to the service of mankind! Reader, with true gratitude, behold! Even the fine arts are induced, by Messrs. Jones and Company, of the Finsbury Temple of the Muses, to bow down in patriotic pride or humility, in order to do homage, in this age of reformation, to national improvement, pleasure, and prosperity. Philosophers and legis-

lators, open your intellectual eyes ! The sons of commerce are arraying themselves with " the committee of taste," and " the Society for the Diffusion of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge !" The sciences are liberally serving out in the richest pennyworths ; and now we are called upon to admire and purchase the shillingworths of the works of the great masters in the arts of imitation and adornment. The prime sources

" Of living dignity and deathless fame,"

" The committee of taste"—those conservators, if not creators, of the national collection—emulous, perhaps, of the honour and the patriotic feelings which the nobility and gentry of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge, and penny literature, have secured to themselves, have graciously condescended to co-operate with the aforesaid Jones and Co., of the Finsbury Temple of the Muses, in paving the streets of this instructed, refined, and happy metropolis, with precious stones.

A few years ago this " select committee " made " a report," as it is termed, to the House of Commons, of which the reverberation has reached our ears. It is generally understood to have been penned by their chairman, the Hon. Mr. Banks, late of Corfe Castle notoriety, and we read in it as follows :—" Your Committee cannot dismiss this interesting subject without submitting to the attention of the House how highly the cultivation of the fine arts has contributed to the reputation, character, and dignity, of every government by which they have been encouraged, and how intimately they are connected with the advancement of everything valuable in science, literature, and philosophy." In another part they becomingly profess their wish and intention that the exemplary works of the ancients " may receive that admiration and homage to which they are justly entitled, and serve in return as models and examples to those who, by knowing how to revere and appreciate them, may learn first to imitate, and ultimately to rival them."

Here, we suppose, is the secret spring or impulse of their condescending permission of co-operation, granted to the high priests of the Temple of the Muses, of which we behold the result, or the commencement of the result, in numbers of " The National Gallery of Pictures by the Great Masters." The reader will please to bear in mind, that we do not profess to have been present at the signing, sealing, and delivery of any such permission, and are merely assuming that it must have been granted ; since, beside subordinate watchers and attendants, there are two authorised *keepers* of the national collection ; viz. Mr. Seguier and Colonel —, we forget what, a polite gentleman, but still a military man, enjoying, we suppose, his regimental half-pay, and occupying, through some

species of favour, the evident station of an old and decaying artist. But this is mere parenthesis ; the Colonel is a keeper of the collection, under or over Mr. Seguiet ; neither of whom would permit invasion by mere ignorant shopkeepers, of the premises in Pall Mall, or the perpetration of rapes on those high-born artists who have been selected as chaste models and examples, and are here congregated, that they " may receive that admiration and homage to which they are justly entitled."

We shall proceed to offer a few critical remarks on the first number, not quite forgetting the admiration and homage to which the great painters of antiquity, as " the Committee of Taste " report to the House of Commons, are justly entitled, and that their works are deposited in the national collection as models and examples to *those who know how to revere and appreciate them*. And, firstly, of the second of the engravings which it contains, of which the subject is *Abraham and Isaac ascending Mount Moriah*, from the original by GASPARD POUSSIN ; and which is a dull, dark-toned, dingy landscape, very obviously deficient in that expression of space which the nature of the subject demanded, and that should have constituted one of its chief beauties.

It bears the name of W. RADCLIFFE as the engraver. The fore-ground, foliage, and trees, are etched rather in the *manner* than the *style* of the late distinguished artist MIDDIMAN, and are the best of the performance ; the execution of the rest is mere common-place, not reaching to the mark of mediocrity : an affair of *Brummajum* production, where those who labour hard are starved with impunity. As Mr. RADCLIFFE is pretty well known to be an inhabitant of that newly-awakened borough, his plate in all likelihood must have been copied from a copy of GASPARD's original ; and the copyist appears to have mistaken that chill of the varnish which is observable (or was six weeks ago) on the picture, and which Mr. SEGUIET or his assistant should have dexterously removed, by means of a little light silken friction, for intentional shadowy obscurity on the part of the painter ; and hence, in the print, the scene is engloomed in almost midnight darkness : all space is destroyed ; and the region of the patriarch's three days' journey from Beer-sheba, is so obscurely and ignorantly huddled together, as scarcely to seem more than a morning's walk—and a dirty walk, too.

" Abraham rose up early in the morning, and saddled his ass, and took two of his young men with him, and Isaac his son ; and clave the wood for the burnt-offering, and rose up and went into the place of which God had told him. Then *on the third day* [i. e. after two days of travel] Abraham lifted up his eyes, and saw the place afar off.

" And Abraham said unto his young men, ' *Abide ye here with the ass ; and I and the lad will go yonder and worship, and come*

again to you;' and Abraham took the wood of the burnt-offering and laid it upon Isaac his son; and he took the fire in his hand, and a knife, and they went both of them together."

This text is not cited in Messrs. Jones and Co.'s printed description (which we call *theirs*, because they have not favoured their subscribers with the author's name, appearing to think it will be regarded as quite sufficient and abundantly satisfactory, that it emanates from a trade, dubbed Temple of the Muses): but it was necessary to write it, for several reasons.

1st. It seems next to impossible that without recollecting these verses, the spectator should be able to divine that the three figures, should the reader be able to find them, in the hollow, are Abraham's two young men and his *ass*, which might else easily have been mistaken for a goat, or for Polonius's ouzel. Next, the quotation shows that the patriarch and his son have yet far to labour up the acclivity, since the former had so recently lifted up his eyes and seen the place of sacrifice *afar off*: and, thirdly, the painter has wisely expressed the taking of the fire into Abraham's hand by a lighted splinter of fir, such as were used for torches during the patriarchal ages, and among the oriental nations. MURILLO, not less effectively, in his treatment of the same subject, has painted the patriarch holding the fire, which is contained in a censor, by a short chain. Now, painting is justly esteemed to be a moral art, and in whatever way Abraham held the fire, with which we are called upon to believe he intended to have consumed his only son, after the knife had done its office, none would regret that he should run some hazard of burning his fingers, as he evidently does in the present picture, when we reflect that he has far to go; an altar to build, and, oh heaven! what else to do in order that *Omniscience* might *know*, ere the fire which he bears can be employed for its destined purpose.* But enough of this mysterious concern, to which, doubtless, a certain pervading melancholy tone was strictly appropriate. This purpose, in the picture, is successfully accomplished by means of a delicately degraduating air tint of a low tone, without making, as MILTON phrases it,

"One blot of all the air."

The engravers and publishers have precisely missed what was most essential to the subject, and presented us with a mere *caput mortuum* of one of GASPARD POUSSIN's most celebrated works.

* That seems enough: but some reader may possibly ask, That Omnipotence might know, what? Why, a creature, the work of his hands, believed, or believed not, that he had revoked a former promise.

And now for CORREGIO's *Holy Trinity* : if the critical reader will pardon a too palpable misnomer. We are thoroughly aware that all who have been at Parma, and many of those who have not, will incontinently exclaim, "Can it be possible that the print before us is really engraven after that divine master?" And this question we readily admit, and even ourselves propound, in right of those thousands, living at a distance from the metropolis, to whom Messrs. Fisher and Co. really, or more particularly, address their prospectus, and especially send their agents ; at the head of which agents appears to be a certain "Mandeville," or Mandevil, who it seems does not "do his spiriting gently." "His persevering impudence," Mr. JERDAN says, "goes beyond all bounds."

It appears right that we should take this sort of abstract view of the matter, since we are looking at the prints now before us, not for our own pleasure, but rather at the expense of some little pain, God knows ; looking at them, however, chiefly for the information of that distant public, who may not find it convenient to step into Pall-Mall and institute certain comparisons for themselves. There may possibly, however, be some portion of that public which occupy the fore-ground to whom our remarks may not prove unacceptable.

This "Holy Family" bears the name of FREEMAN as its engraver ; but really is scarcely worthy of a *slave* : not that it is even a slavish imitation, or servile translation, of CORREGIO. No, no ; here is a glorious departure from such vulgar bounds. Stippling and the line manner are mingled in its mode of execution ; but mingled without principle, apparently by some person whose mind and hand, formed in conventional trammels, by and for a mercenary age, has probably no suspicion that the art which he nominally exercises, is, in its inherent capabilities, aught better than the merest of mechaanic trades. All the energetic amenities of the master ; all the characteristic squareness in the casting of his draperies ; all the truth of character in the countenances of the Madonna and Bambino, are superseded by a certain silly softness of texture, and unmeaning assemblage of forms, fit only for the inanity of the Angelica-Kauffman art of painting, and the Laura-Matilda poetry of the by-gone age, which GIFFORD, and "the Pursuits of Literature," so successfully laughed from the London boards,

It is fortunate for the lasting fame of CORREGIO, that it is too firmly established to be in any degree dependent on what may issue from "the Temple of the Muses," which has here sent us forth under his name, and, under the title of a "Holy Family," a grouped mother and child, which, had it borne the name of a modern painter, few would have looked at with any intensity of regard ; none with the veneration due from Christians towards their Redeemer and his sainted mother, or with

any suspicion that *they* were here presented to his attention. So completely divested is the group of its Corregio-esque attributes, and of all divinity of character ; so far is it from being

“ touched with that superior art,
“ Which paints of holiness the purer part,”

that it has, in truth, nothing holy about it, and, but for the saving grace of a great name, it would have been quite necessary to adopt the cautious practice of the worthy cock-painter of old, who, distrusting the taste or discernment of his patrons, felt it necessary to call in the aid of letters, and make assurance doubly sure, by inscribing beneath his straddling bipeds, “ This is a Cock.” There is, to be sure, a clumsy fellow, planing a board in the back-ground, if that could be received as a genuine indication of family holiness, but there is no other. On the fore-ground sits a common sort of every-day seamstress of a mother, of no particular mark nor likelihood, who is maternally employed in investing her infant son apparently with a sleeved frock. This son, a stoutish-made, or what nurses term “ a chopping boy,” seems but ill-seated on the lap of his mamma ; slipping off from that lap indeed ; and his attention appears as if drawn out of the picture, as we might guess, by some passing bird or butterfly ; two of the fingers are so poorly drawn as to seem dropping from his right-hand ; and the left hands of both the figures, especially that of his unmeaning miss of a mother, are shockingly ill-drawn, and employed in no very intelligible manner.

Below, is Madonna’s left foot (which is so beautifully and dexterously fore-shortened in the original by the hand of genius) appearing from beneath the skirts of her drapery ; but appearing, in the print, too much as if it belonged to her right leg : and immediately in the fore-ground is the work-basket of an Italian female of the middle class, containing what we know not whether to understand as being intended for spun-flax or needle-work, so dubiously is it represented : most likely it is meant for the latter, as there is no distaff, but an old-fashioned pair of sheer-scissors, such as were currently used in Europe during the fifteenth century. Every picture should tell its own story, and the present, collectively speaking, betokens that one of the mistresses, Evans or Carpenter, having brought forth her work, is sitting abroad with her infant son for the benefit of a little fresh air : yet the air seems not fresh, but dull and foggy as it pervades the back-ground ; and, but that there is foliage on the tree, which shelters our engraved Madonna, and signs of verdure on the ground, we might have deemed the scene represented to be the depth of winter.

The basket above-mentioned, however, with its contents, is as different

in CORREGIO's original (for we find ourselves at length obliged to advert to the picture), as the characters of the countenances, and the expression of that of the Virgin Mary. Here it is a complete basket, whereas there is only half a basket shown in the picture. Another most injudicious, and we should say, most impudent liberty, is here taken with the leading lines of CORREGIO's composition: not less so than in those details of the drapery to which we have before adverted. To the eyes of the majority of readers these may perhaps be more conspicuous than the deterioration in the characters of the heads, though to an eye of tasteful discernment, the latter be by far the more reprehensible fault. But we ought not to pass in silence either unfaithful copying, or direct falsification.

Of the tender harmony and peculiar purity of CORREGIO's colouring, not a tinge is attempted to be rendered; and if the exquisite and exemplary feeling with which the hands of the Madonna are delineated, here is none but an ignorant and vulgar acknowledgment of something which the engraver could not attain, and did not understand, and which, therefore, to him was mystery and over-masterable difficulty. In viewing the picture, it is easy to suppose, from certain indications, that Mary has a maternal bosom, which is demanded by the nature of the subject: but not so in the print, where even "Joseph the carpenter" is too much libelled for us easily to believe that he was of the progeny of the royal house of David, as the evangelist pronounceth: and really, when this is added to the strange liberties taken with his wife, it seems rather too bad. As poor CORREGIO was so ill-treated whilst living, some regard at least should be had to the diffusion of his posthumous fame—this all which remains to mortal accomplishment; and we should not allow of his being with impunity bedevilled or man-devilled by "Messrs. Fisher & Co.'s Agent." We, therefore, shall not flinch from adding of this engraving, notwithstanding the oracular declaration from "the Temple of the Muses" of its being worth "from five to ten shillings," that we perceive nothing better or more precious here than a mere sixpenny Corregio; and find it extremely difficult to believe that its engraver can ever have seen, far less engraven from, the admirable *three-thousand-guinea* one, from which it is ostensibly taken, either with or without the permission of its guardians.

We do not exactly coincide with what it has lately been fashionable to say and listen to concerning *dear* and *cheap* knowledge; or find ourselves quite willing to float with the stream. Before this hue and cry was raised, and raised, it appears to us to have been, by interested persons, stimulating for their own profit the vanities of those of rank and opulence, books were already among the cheapest of human productions. Think of a Shakspeare or a Milton for half-a-guinea, or Euclid for half-a-crown, and always to remain on your shelves too: think of Southey's *Wat*

Tyler for sixpence ; and what do we want cheaper in the way of books ? Where is the statesman or philosopher who has disproved the reasoning of HELVETIUS in evidence that he who reads few books, and *digests their contents* (there is the rub), will prove both a wiser and more knowing man than he who is perpetually reading ? The strongest men are not those of over-craving appetites, either bodily or mentally speaking. Upon this question we hope that our readers will not prove Knights and Butterworths ; but avoiding for the present all further discussion of its profundities as they respect *literature*, we are decided and strenuous, if not strong, against that cheap and diluted or debased *art*, with which the cant of mercenary traders, and the still more reprehensible cant of pretended critics, would deluge and overwhelm the public taste. We are quite sure that if the maxim, "*Aut Cæsar, aut nullus*," be ever worth heeding, it is when applied to the pursuits of art ; and that middling sculpture, middling music, middling poetry, middling pictures, and worse than middling "national galleries," are, in an enlarged and philosophical view, as valueless as those leaden saints which ignorance and superstition have deified, which kings once wore in their bonnets (according to Sir Walter Scott), and which serve at present to enthrall the bigots of the European peninsula. Such productions, standing as they do in the rightful places of better, at once deteriorate and retard national taste, mental improvement, and the progressive virtues.

Upon such occasions as the present, no public writer should temporize ; we therefore hesitate not to say that what "the Literary Gazette" would call its *criticism* on this National Gallery, is most contemptible ; but our readers shall judge for themselves.

"There are (says the Editor) those who object to cheap publications in art. We are not of their opinion. A taste for the fine arts superseding, as it invariably must, the love of vulgar and sensual gratifications, cannot be too generally diffused. When a tradesman or a mechanic is induced to drink one glass of blue-ruin less than usual, in order that with the money it would cost him he may purchase a number of such a work as that under our notice, a double good is effected :—the force of a destructive habit is diminished, and the inclination towards intellectual enjoyment is increased. By degrees means are accumulated, and judgment is formed, which lead to the acquisition of more elaborate and expensive productions. The plates in the first part of Messrs. Jones and Co.'s new publication are after CORREGIO, &c. They are *very respectably engraved for their cost.*"

What mere cant ! Why do the reasonings of this *critic* start from a point of debasement and degradation of the human faculties ? Why are tradesmen and mechanics to be assumed by this *moralist* to be generally

addicted, if not of necessity devoted, to the depravity of gin-drinking? Oh! but he has learned from the *rector* that we are born in sin; but are we born without shame? Or does he not know that the very *things* before us *are* glasses—mental glasses—of blue-ruin; preceded, we may add, by the recommendation of literary small beer? for they muddle the discernment and undermine and break down the constitution of taste, ere taste is formed. The word “respectable” has been bandied by maudlin reviewers, till it has lost all respect; till its proper meaning is so completely perverted, that we may truly say of the *Gazette’s* caricatures on art, and without the least danger of being misunderstood, that they are *very respectably written for their cost*. And it is not at all unlikely, nay we will venture a prophecy on the point, that were Messrs. FREEMAN and RADCLYFFE to be examined, they would deprecate real criticism in the same way, and say with great truth that they *could* have produced better engravings than are here set before us, had they been better remunerated by the high-priests of the Muses. The long-wished-for era of the commencement of reform has at length arrived, and should be extended to all our sources of social happiness. We will not, therefore, abet this Editor, or any other, in covering the surface of rank corruption with a golden-tinged slime.

Let Messrs. Jones and Co. address *their* National Gallery (if what is to follow be no better than that first pair or number which their “Agent” has exhibited as a specimen), let them at once address it, according to the prescription of the Literary Gazette, to gin-drinkers, and to gin-drinkers exclusively, and let us experimentally see whether the blue-ruin of the mind will supersede the blue-ruin of the throat. Let the iron shot-bolt go to its mark; but let us no longer allow such things to rank either really or nominally with those arts

“—— of living dignity and deathless fame,”

which the House of Commons have been instructed by their select committee to “secure from further injury and degradation, that they may receive the admiration and homage to which they are entitled.”

The discerning reader will readily perceive, in this our critique, that we do not write merely to *amuse* him, but with a higher hope. A little prolixity of detail, and perhaps a little reiteration, will be thought pardonable, if not deemed indispensably necessary, to expose the false pretensions of certain forward and unqualified Coryphæi, their flippant ipse-dixits, and the habitual pleasantries with which they have somehow contrived to eclipse sound criticism on the arts, in the process of sheltering their own ignorance. Upon this subject we conceive the touch-and-go system

of the hebdomadals, which is now so prevalent, should be abated; that the public mind, to use a homely metaphor, requires to be *put in soak* ere it can be duly penetrated.



REMINISCENCES OF A TAILOR.

"Every thing is big with jest, and has wit in it, and instruction too, if we can but find it out."

STERNE.

MESSRS. EDITORS,

Some time ago, while Mr. Verjuice, the celebrated philosopher and critic, was being measured by my master in our shop for a new pair of inexpressibles—the last being entirely worn out by the fretfulness of his indignation against a then lately edited Biography—I heard him say, "That every man must in his life have heard and seen many things worthy of commemoration." The aphorism was delivered with all the dignity and authority that this admirable person so justly assumes, and a few moments' reflection convinced me of its truth. I received further confirmation, on being informed that about four dozen and odd gentlemen have obtained considerable sums by piecing together all the remnants of ideas they have ever themselves possessed, with every stray scrap they could cabbage among their friends and acquaintance: these circumstances, with the considerations I am about to detail, have induced me on the present occasion to write, gentlemen, to you.

I cannot doubt, that it must be very evident to gentlemen of your acknowledged penetration, that any one of our profession, possessed of a keen eye and a good memory, must be able to write very readily a much more amusing, interesting, instructive, and useful account, than has hitherto been done by any of the several dozens of gentlemen who have kindly obliged themselves and the world with a list of their own good things and those of their acquaintance, from the opportunity we have of remarking curious and invaluable traits of character among the eminent and illustrious individuals seen by us in a manner undressed; and feeling myself in some measure fitted to communicate them by a disposition naturally observant, and by having carefully attended to the language and manners of the many authors and gentlemen of fashion with whom I have been brought in close and familiar communication—unusual in professions

less important than my own, and by having perfected my style and writing by constantly making out my master's bills—a branch of the literary art, that the world now acknowledges to be done in the last degree of excellence and eloquence), I have cast off that modest and retiring character, which, though it may sometimes veil over excellence, is oftener a cloak for ignorance and stupidity.

I have now long completed the term of my apprenticeship, but am unable to set up in business for myself, from the want of a small capital; but, apart from all sordidly selfish considerations, for which I feel a scorn befitting the tailor and the man, it presses on me as a duty I owe to my fellow-men, not to leave uncommunicated the treasures I possess, and that, in the words of the poet—

“ I were the cruellest He alive
If I should lead these graces to the grave
And leave the world no copy.”

In the which enlightened view I have been greatly encouraged by Mr. Dustybrain the antiquary, who has kindly informed me, that the learned are inclined to believe that it was Midas's tailor who first revealed to mankind that he possessed the ears of an ass.

I have selected your magazine, gentlemen, as the channel by which to convey my observations to the world, believing that, from its newness, my communications might, perhaps, be if possible the *more* acceptable, and that, from the name of its editors, I need not be in dread of those sneers which the low in mind are ever ready liberally to bestow on those whom they (often so ignorantly) consider the low in station.

Of my parents, and the circumstances of my birth, I am, unfortunately, entirely ignorant. The earliest remembrance that I have of MYSELF, is, as employed in a blanket-mill in the north of England, in which, with many other children, I laboured from five o'clock in the morning till eight at night, on every day in the week, Sunday excepted. I suppose that I had been brought up by the parish, as the work-house was my home, to which I returned (tired enough, heaven knows) every evening, when my work was over. Thus I remained some years. It is not my intention here to be minute on the circumstances of my infancy, as I well know that the early details of the greatest characters are very uninteresting, and it is now not worth while to give an account of my labours, as the public have very recently been fully informed on the subject. I will only say, that my constant employment was to carry to and fro, through the factory, immense reels of the woollen yarn to supply the machinery, which was so arranged as to consume the weight we were able to carry in the time considered necessary to go the distance we had

to take it: our labour was therefore uniform, and loitering impossible; for if, towards the end of our day, we slackened our pace, there was an accursed loose piece of wood used in the machine, with which we were severely beaten by the man employed at the wheel, who was delayed by our not coming as the yarn was wanted, and was little disposed to be merciful, his wages being regulated by the quantity of work that he made. I have no doubt that there are many advantages in thus working children into cripples for life, as I have heard a gentleman from a hunting county, for whom my master made leather breeches, say with much force that we were the most enlightened people in the world, but at that time (being interested in the matter I suppose) I was unable to see them; and every morning promised myself to escape from what I considered a brutal and cruel slavery; but at night fatigue was too powerful for every resolve, and sleep seemed the very first of necessities. I went on a long while, I dare say for years (but which I have no means of measuring), in this daily exchange of resolution and inability, and I should, perhaps, have remained there till manhood, but for an accident that happened, and gave an impulse that I might never else have received.

There was a little fellow employed under the same man as myself (perhaps we were both nearly nine years old), who one evening, about six o'clock, having I suppose become excessively tired, had several times been beaten: he was the one immediately before me in rotation; he was stupified by sleepiness, no doubt; but it was, however, on the turn in question, that he was so much too late as for me to be almost close behind him; and I saw, therefore, all that took place. He received a blow, and, tottering a few steps, fell within the sweep of the great wheel: the irresistible engine took him up in an instant among its cogs. I instinctively shut my eyes; but I heard, and shall never forget his scream; and the horrible subdued crash that succeeded it. I know no more, for I fainted; but I afterwards understood that he was killed, and horribly mutilated, before the machinery could be stopped. I went homeward that night, with my heart throbbing, and my head full of this horrible event. It was necessary to pass, on my way, the principal inn of the town, from which the waggons were dispatched to London. It was then the month of November, and consequently quite dark. Before the house stood a waggon, which two men were engaged in loading with hampers and baskets: as I came near they turned to the house to bring out others. I, full of the idea of escape, seized the blessed opportunity, and climbing in, managed to make room for myself to lie at length between two enormous baskets. The work went on, and I was soon effectually built in by hampers and packages above and around me. The prospect of thus making a journey, which, as I was afterwards informed,

occupied three days, may not appear too agreeable to some folks. But such reasoners have not laboured as I had : by heavens, it was delicious—the long rest—the lulling sound of the wheels,—had it been a month, I think I should not have found it tedious. To be sure, I believe I should have been starved, had not one of my protecting baskets been filled with eggs. I hope necessity may excuse my breach of morality in *helping myself*. As it was, I slept all the way (when not engaged with the eggs), and was awakened from a nap by the noise of unloading the waggon in London. Fortunately for me it was night when it arrived there. As the last package contributing to my concealment was being removed, I sprung out on the startled porter, knocking down his light, and, taking to my heels, ran into the streets as fast as my legs would carry me. I turned right and left at hazard, and got clear off, perhaps unpursued, as I think the man might have mistaken me for a dog, for he hurled a curse and a stone after me on my departure.

I wandered about, till, heartsick and tired, I fell asleep on the steps of a house door, was taken by a watchman to the watchhouse, and the next morning to a magistrate, before whom I feigned stupidity, determined to give no account which could lead to my being sent back. I was therefore handed over to the officers of the parish in which I was found, who, I doubt not, advertised and did all they could to get rid of me. No trace, however, was found, and I was consigned to the poorhouse, where I was taught to read and write ; and thence, from a charitable fund appropriated to that purpose, bound apprentice to Mr. FITTO, my late master, a tailor of very considerable practice.

Thus, gentlemen, by the concurrence of trifling events working together to one great end, have I arrived at my present profession ; the importance of which, estimated either by the usefulness or the elegance of its services to our fellow-creatures, well merits the regard and attention bestowed upon it by those of the highest rank and most refined habits, who are so deservedly the most sought for, and the best received, in the society of the world. Measure it with the *Law* : does not *that* more frequently take the coat from a man's back, than put one on it ? Compare it with *Physic* : how many have died from drugs ! but tell me who has died from being well dressed ? And *Divinity* itself gives the highest opinion of our merits, in exhorting us to be clothed in righteousness like a garment.

It was not, I own, immediately on my reception at Mr. FITTO's that I was enabled to take this just and dignified view of my employment. Tainted by the coarse and vulgar notions of my previous associates, I felt some distaste for my destination, and indulged, during a dispute with a fellow-artisan, in the ignorant taunt concerning the relative estimate of

our proportions to the rest of mankind : I am unwilling further to explain the brutal allusion. I was thus at once informed and reproved by my master : " Tom," said he, " let it be your study to inform your mind, and to teach it discrimination ; you will then see that a tailor is not the ninth part of a man, but rather the ninth part of all men ; for, where is the man whose value is not increased greatly more than a ninth by our aid ? that *tailors make men* is an axiom." A very shrewd and sagacious judge of character was Mr. FITITO.

At another time, when I complained of the position I occupied during my studies being inconvenient and constrained, he was pleased to console my inexperience by observing, that there was no bench or board in the kingdom, on which there were not some so-so persons ; most jocular and pleasant on all occasions was Mr. FITITO. He was a man somewhat small in stature, but of an agreeable rotundity of person ; he had a face that wore a pleasing smile, and indicated a mind in a state of contentment with itself ; his hair was of a somewhat similar hue with the darkish-grey pantaloons, which, with Hessian boots, he invariably wore ; a blue coat unbuttoned, and yellow waistcoat, completed his costume ; and as he stood with his back to the fire in the shop, directing our labours, informing our minds, and enlivening our fancies, by converse, now playful, now profound—oh where, oh FITITO ! shall I ever see thy fellow ?

Under such auspices, I gradually and surely acquired the various refinements of our art. Let me not, however, omit to record his exhorting me to cultivate perfection in fine-drawing, since, as he said, " every one now pricks a hole in his neighbour's coat," and to use my needle to my seam, as a man of fashion his fortune, as quickly as possible to run through it.

My master was a great politician ; a *patriot*, of course, as Tim Thimbleton, my coadjutor (himself somewhat of a wag), used to say, " How can a tailor be other than a reformer ; what body of men have shown a firmer attachment to ' THE BILL,' or a more earnest desire to carry it to as great a length as possible ? " as firm and constant, too, as wise. I well remember his admirable reproof to the solicitation of one of the opposite party : " Sir," said he, " no wise tailor will ever countenance the practice of turning coats." He was prudent too, withal, and once confidentially told me, that he knew on which side the nap lay, for that his set employed him, because of their opinion, and the others in hope to convert him to theirs. Thus gifted in mind, thus careful in conduct, he could not fail to succeed, and his advancement in life was but the natural consequence of the envy of the few, the regard of the many, and the respectful admiration of all.

I remember very well, when I first went to him, a certain poet dealt

with us. He was a tremendously tall man, and, unfortunately, took a credit as long as himself. Mr. F., as usual, indemnified himself by the price, and by somewhat diminishing the allowance of cloth to his garments. On one occasion this had (by inadvertence, of course) been rather overdone: our customer, who with difficulty had crammed himself into his indispensables, exclaimed, with a piteous face, "Friend FITITO, I have heard that clothes for bards may be made without allowance for dinners, but you have done more, you have measured me to a T;" my master *laughed*, and generously remedied the mistake without a charge. Such instances of right feeling, I fear, are but too rare. But, how could the loftiest mind, even that of a tailor, stand proof against such humour! The famous Lord F., the celebrated wit and convivialist, was a constant employer of my master; I remember taking him a coat, at the time when fashion's caprice had terribly abridged the decorous covering which that garment is intended to afford, Lord F. exclaimed to me, "Why this is almost a jacket; how can your master call himself a tailor, when he makes no tails? Take it back to alter." I knew his lordship's character, and ventured to reply, "Don't send it back, my lord; though Mr. FITITO cuts cloth, he does not call himself a re-tailer." At this his lordship laughed heartily: indeed, he always was considered an exquisite judge of humour. I may venture to add, that he did not send the coat back. The Earl of H. was always a good patron of ours, he was wont to say that FITITO had no goose in his shop but the iron one, to which I remember my master once replying, that "he ought therefore to apologise for using it in *irony* against his lordship." This reminds me of a remark made by Mr. Mistiphrase, the great metaphysician, while I was patching the elbow of his coat, of the great advantage of readiness in reply: "Common persons," said he, "pay their way in life with coin, but they with counters." It is a strong instance, however, of how much acute thinking tends to the destruction of the memory, that Mr. Mistiphrase not only forgot to pay me for the job, but that I, absorbed in the profundity of his remark, also forgot to ask him for it. Jack Trunwell, who was so famous about town some years ago, often used to lounge in our shop, young O'Brien, of the Royal Irish, came in once, when he was there, to complain of his being styled in his bill, "Patrick O'Brien, Esq.;" as Mr. FITITO did all gentlemen of the sister isle, with whose Christian names he was unacquainted. "Pooh," said Jack, tapping him on the breast with his finger; "he knew by your coat that you were a Paddy." His reply to a magistrate, before whom he was taken after one of his rambles, is well known. The wise administrator of justice telling him that he ought to mend his *habits*; he replied, looking ruefully at his somewhat tattered attire, "They are past mending; perhaps your worship would order me a

new suit." Poor Jack! his gaiety never failed him, but long survived his acquaintance, his character, and his coat.

Space, gentlemen, now reminds me to cut my coat according to my cloth, and to conclude. I do not doubt that you will properly appreciate my communications, of the importance of which the present specimen may amply convince you; and that you will so conduct yourselves concerning them as to ensure to your publication their continuance, to the infinite edification and entertainment of that immense proportion of the world who peruse you; for the very minute and inconsiderable remaining fraction of which who do not, I beg to assure you, I shall in future entertain the most consummate contempt. Gentlemen, I have the honour to be your obedient servant,

THOMAS STITCHWELL.

THE APOLOGY OF A PARISIAN GIRL,

FOR NOT HAVING KISSED A BEAUTIFUL BOY AT HIS BAPTISM.

QUAND tout le monde circulait
Autour de ce nouveau né,
Sans l'embrasser je reculait:
Qui en peut être étonné?

Sans doute, ce m'était facile
De lui faire aussi mon cour;
Mais que dit-on d'une fille
Qu'on voit embrasser l'Amour?

Translation.

While circling friends around conspire
To bless this babe of thine,
Why marvel I alone retire
Nor press his lips with mine?

That tribute, sure, were gladly paid,
My greeting fond to prove;
But what would men say of the maid
They saw embracing Love?

DIVARICATION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, INTO DOCTRINE AND HISTORY.
By THOS. WIRGMAN, Esq., Author of "Principles of Transcendental Philosophy," and the articles Kant, Logic, Metaphysics, Moral Philosophy, and Philosophy, in the "Encyclopædia Londinensis." Small 8vo. London, 1833.

THIS is a book with a strange title, and is altogether a strange production. It has passed through one edition almost, if not entirely, unnoticed by the press, and a second is preparing, which we have had an opportunity of inspecting, and which will astound the booksellers, the bookworms, and all those who deem any innovation on the established forms of bibliopony as next akin to quackery. Every page of this work is divided into two columns, one of which is blue, and the other yellow; these two colours having been chosen by Mr. WIRGMAN to typify the great leading division which he makes of the Scripture, into *Doctrine* and *History*.

There may be much difference of opinion as to the good or bad taste evinced in this; there may be as little agreement as to its utility; but all must allow that a fanciful arrangement of the kind can deteriorate nothing from the intrinsic value of the facts or arguments the book may contain.

We have been induced to place its title at the head of this article, because we think the main proposition on which the divarication rests, is correct in itself, and of so much importance as to be worthy of general and attentive consideration. Mr. WIRGMAN observes, (and the observation is just,) that the Scriptures contain, along with a very fine system of morality, a series of historical records. The whole mass is taken by the majority of the different sects of Christians as the product of inspiration, and therefore the occurrence of a miracle, or of any other deviation from the regular order of nature, obtains with them the same implicit belief as they bestow on the divine precepts, "Love thy brother as thyself," and Do unto all men as thou wouldst they should do unto thee. Now, Mr. WIRGMAN contends that the maxims contained in the Scripture, being all in accordance with deductions from that which may be termed natural religion, are indisputably true, therefore worthy of veneration and of divine origin. But all history he shows to be liable to error, and to be incapable of demonstration. He does not pretend to say that the historical portions of the Scriptures are not true, but that their truth can never be proved; while on the other hand, their *doctrine* or moral axioms, finding a sympathy in every human breast, and exciting perfect conviction in all men's reason, may be placed beyond the reach of doubt.

In order, then, to render this distinction more clear to the unthinking
Cobbett's Mag.—No. 2.

mind, he places all the moral axioms of Christ and his disciples on one column of the page, and on the other the portions that are merely historical, and as we have before said, he is about making the distinction still more evident by printing the two columns in different colours. The Scriptures thus divaricated, or cut in halves, are to our taste any thing but improved; there is in the original a blended beauty arising from the union of domestic narration, of dialogue, and of parable, which places the moral doctrines not only in a conspicuous, but in an enchanting point of view. Does there appear, we would ask, any way in which that pure moral rule could be inculcated, which occurs to one's heart when we come to Christ's words, "Let him that is without sin cast the first stone," except by the relation of the tale of the woman taken in adultery: and is it not the same of the parable of the sower, and many others? Nevertheless, while we must ever wish to read and teach the Scriptures in their present simple and beautiful form, it must not be denied that there is a wide distinction between obeying the Christian system of morals, and believing the narrations of its disciples. Mr. WIRGMAN affirms—and the proposition must hereafter be examined at length—that there is a natural test for the correctness of all religious doctrines in the constitution of the human mind, and that this test applied to our Saviour's code of morality, proves it to be perfect. A conviction resting on such grounds, can neither be weakened nor strengthened by any collateral evidence; as the axioms of the mathematics and its demonstrations, which rest upon the same grounds (that is, the invariable and inevitable conclusions of the understanding), can neither be fortified by miracle nor rendered doubtful by the testimony of thousands against them.

It may be said that if once we allow ourselves to doubt the inspiration of the scriptural authorities on one subject, it may be doubted on all. To this it is replied, that the inspiration, or the meaning, which amounts to the same thing, of portions of the entire Scriptures have been doubted, and that scarcely two men, even of the same particular creed, agree on all points; consequently, to separate those matters concerning which no disagreement can be reasonably entertained, is the wisest and most probable mode of producing that "*Church Union*," which our author is sanguine enough to hope may be effected "never again to be dissolved." (See Dedication.)

Nor is this hope so extravagant as at first may be conceived, since our author proposes no violent disruption of pure religion from the forms, rites, or symbols, employed by different sects, but simply that they should all agree with respect to the former, and conform to the other according to their taste, or such as may appear to them, from the historical testimony of those who received the revelation, of Divine appointment. That

this consummation is devoutly to be wished, all persons of a tolerant disposition will allow, but few will believe it practicable, because few will acknowledge that there is any one criterion or standard so similar in all minds as will reduce, within precise lines of demonstration, the whole of our duties and obligations. For this, however, Mr. WIRGMAN strenuously contends, and it is now to be examined.

We may premise that the proposition is unqualified, and hence arise the objections that will be taken to it, and hence, also, the necessity of subjecting it to proof. Were it otherwise, if the author of the "Divarication" said no more than that men generally would be found to agree better as to the laws of morality than as to forms of worship, the example of the many purely virtuous men who had followed the grossest superstitions, and the identity of their conduct and language with that followed by those of the purest forms of worship, would be enough for the argument; but as he makes more than such a general assertion; as it is dogmatically affirmed that the rules of a holy life, in all its complicated relations, are to be laid down as strictly as mathematical axioms, we must enter more deeply into the matter.

For this purpose it is requisite to throw ourselves back some 50 or 60 years, to apprise or remind our readers that in the last century a man of learning and erudition, and unquestionably possessing the severest habits of thinking that can be conceived, set about the bold task of analyzing and describing all the acts of the human mind, of tracing all ideas to their ultimate or elementary constituents, of laying down the boundaries which have circumscribed and will circumscribe for ever the exertions of man's intellectual powers, and, moreover, of propounding all his duties! He professed to have accomplished this wonderful work! His disciples, obscure and few, but obstinate and fearless, proclaim His truth. They say, Here is a *perfect* work; here is an account of what occurs in all our mental operations, so complete that it leaves none of those operations obscure or undefined; here is a work to which "nothing can be added, nothing can be taken away." All other systems are either parts of this, or they are false systems; and all others are, therefore, incomplete. This they dogmatically assert, being quite intolerant, not allowing the possibility of any equality or approach to equality between this and any other analysis of the mind that has ever been made or may be made hereafter.

Such arrogant language created a feeling of disgust in many men of superior attainments, as being the ordinary language of quacks, and hollow pretenders, and as unworthy of philosophy. On the other hand, among those who endeavoured to devote their minds to its honest examination, the obscurity which seemed to involve this system to every one not personally acquainted with the teachers of the system, produced a very

general feeling that it was a mystical delusion, and altogether the product of a lofty but overgrown fancy.

Most of the countrymen of our philosopher entertained, however, a strong perception of the matchless simplicity and beauty of the new philosophy as well as the deep truths it unfolded, but they never appear to have followed out its extensive practical application, nor to have dwelt sufficiently on its completeness as a work entirely exhausting its subject.* A few of our English writers have entertained similar views, and have, in some short reviews, given favourable notices of KANT; notices well calculated to disarm prejudice, and persuade to the study of the system, but not at all calculated to teach it in that entire and full manner, without which its practical utility can never be felt, nor its general diffusion secured. One English writer only has determined to follow out the system as an entire whole, to try every distinct proposition by the crucible of his own understanding, as well as by that of every human being who would entertain the subject, and has translated and illustrated the whole of the Kantian philosophy. This is THOMAS WIRGMAN, Esq., a gentleman whom we shall make no scruple in introducing to our readers as (taking his oral and written instructions together) the present chief follower and disciple of the illustrious German.

We are aware that the opinion does not coincide with that of many Philo-Kantians. Mr. WIRGMAN is accused of an extreme fondness for boasting of the superlative merits of the new philosophy, and contemptuous disregard of contemporary metaphysicians, and his style and mode of illustration are regarded by many as extremely obscure.

As these two charges of dogmatism and obscurity have been applied, as we have said before, to the original author as well as his English commentator, we shall endeavour to refute them before proceeding. First, as to the confident tone of the Kantians, let us remark, that they affirm all metaphysics to be a positive science, like arithmetic or geometry; that it is the ground of these sciences; that, in fact, if there is no certain system of metaphysics, the science of quantity is altogether uncertain. In settling an account or in working a problem, we ask of the inquirer, 1st, to allow certain principles self-evident (such as that $2 \times 2 = 4$, or that every circle must have a centre); which he does, because he cannot deny them—because the constitution of his mind happens to be such that he is compelled to acknowledge them, or to cease the investigation altogether; and, 2dly, to proceed in a certain line of process, such as addition, subtraction, &c., which line of process he finds himself compelled also by the constitution of his mind to follow implicitly, or other-

* For example, Fishe, Schiller, M. De Stael, &c.

wise to follow none, and cease the investigation altogether; and we do not *presume* and *venture to differ*, but we boldly affirm or deny. Now a true system of metaphysics (not the usual fanciful dogmata which have assumed that title) proceeds rigidly in this way. It says, "We appeal to your own consciousness; are you perfectly conscious of such and such primary notions; can you help believing them? Can you think their contrary possible? Are you conscious that your mind (whatever it may be, for with that we do not meddle) obeys certain laws? Will you exhaust all the thoughts you ever have had, or can now form, and tell us if there are any other laws requisite to explain all those thoughts. Whenever you stop and refuse to assent, we stop also; and our system falls (excepting the steps we *have* taken together), visionary and baseless, and we seek for a new one. The philosophy of KANT rests for its proof, therefore, on *the universal assent of mankind*, or it confesses itself sheer folly and madness. Directly a man can be found (not, of course, idiotic or lunatic), who, comprehending what *is demanded*, either as to the postulates or the reasoning, will dare to affirm the contrary, we renounce our system, and gladly will embrace his, or we will sit down in scepticism and doubt."

A challenge so open and fair, finding no antagonist, though numerous foes, may be excused a little jactitation; but, indeed, whether it be expressed or concealed, if the philosophy will stand this rigorous process (and before we reject or condemn it, we ought to prosecute the analysis), the feeling of conviction is unconquerable. Who politely argues for the tolerable accuracy of Euclid, and says, "Though this is our system of geometry, there may be others different and equally correct?" What accountants will say that the items are so numerous that it is impossible for the bills to be accurately cast up? Who, in a word, doubts, hesitates, allows weight to an opposite opinion in matters that can be subject to positive evidence? On such topics, all boast, every one is confident. What respect would be paid to a man who should deny that steam would answer the purposes of navigation? yet this negative affirmation, wild as it is, is not so ridiculous as if one were to say, that sensations may exist, occupying neither time nor space, which would contradict KANT's first axioms.

Though we show thus the reasons, we do not advocate the taste, of protruding the merits of the system before the vulgar by asseverating its excellence. Yet this we say in deference; for who is to decide among the various modes of weaning mankind to their welfare, which artifice is best? So much for the boasting of the Kantians; next for their obscurity.

DUGALD STEWART, perfectly ignorant of the German language, and, according to his own confession (in his Preliminary Dissertation to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*), incapable of comprehending the very first sen-

tences in the Latin or English versions of KANT's philosophy, had the impudence (we use the word advisedly) to accuse him of borrowing his opinions from other sources, and of concealing the theft under a "deep neological disguise." This logical blunder from one writing on metaphysic, would be singularly amusing, if the *bon mot* of a Scotchman had not informed us how far Scotch metaphysics is removed from strict science? In correcting the contradiction, however, we allow the first part to be true; namely, that DUGALD STEWART did not understand the English or Latin translations; and we will allow, therefore, that they must present considerable obscurity, wherefore we shall see presently. A recent writer in Frazer's Magazine passes summary sentence on WIRGMAN, dividing the followers of KANT into two classes: he describes one as capable of lending the attractions of graceful style and apposite illustration to the study of metaphysics, but as unfortunately not deeply versed in the Kantian doctrine; the other (WIRGMAN especially), cognizant of the matter, appears to him quite destitute of the proper manner of conveying instruction: and the reviewer hopes to meet with a union of these two qualities hereafter. We have no such anticipations; there *are* difficulties to be overcome in the attainment of metaphysics as in all other sciences. Those who expect to inculcate the whole philosophy of KANT, in a pretty readable article in a fashionable periodical, expect that which is, from the nature of things, impossible. The science consists in separating, classifying, and naming the various mental phenomena of which we are conscious. From the time of Aristotle, and, indeed, from the very dawn of reason, all mankind have been continually, though perhaps unconsciously, at the same work; hence came the very words *judgment, memory, fancy, &c.* Now KANT aims at new divisions of the acts of the mind, at new classifications. How are these divisions and classifications to be named? Manifestly by coining new terms, or by employing old words in a new sense. The Kantians adopt the latter expedient, because the former would create a jargon, and because that is the natural mode in which new ideas acquire names. Wherever men gain more perfect notions of a subject than their predecessors, they seize words the established meaning of which has the nearest approach to what they would express, define it afresh, and use it in the new or corrected sense. Our ordinary language is so loose and fluctuating, that, in order to prosecute any strict course of reasoning, this correction is almost always necessary. Now this is the true source of all obscurity in the Kantian doctrine. It treats of *matter, form, understanding, thought, knowledge, belief*, but it does not use those words as emblems of the imperfect and varying notions which different persons may attach to them, but as technical terms, which, throughout the system, are regularly defined when introduced, and their strict meaning pre-

served throughout. The words may be badly chosen, but he who would go through the system must take them in their author's sense, so long as he is desirous of following up the investigation. Let those who expect to render the Kantian philosophy a reading-made-easy sort of business, try their hands on some of the other sciences, let them conciliate indolence by rejecting all technical terms, and assimilating their expression to the popular meaning, in mathematics, or even natural philosophy. As Euclid's definition of a point seems difficult to some minds, let us allow that the mathematical point has some *little* dimensions, and as people in general make an apple the standard of rotundity, let us work the problems with a circle described by that familiar and simple comparison, "as round as an apple," without insisting on his awkward definitions of the radii and circumference. Why should the anatomist talk barbarously of his *dermis*, *epidermis*, *epithelium*, &c., when he means nothing but different layers of *skin*? Why cannot the chemist tell us of salt, nitre, and quicksilver, without introducing those barbarous coinages, deuto-chlorides, and protoxides, and such "deep neological disguises" for subjects with which every one is familiar? If all this is ridiculous, is it not more ridiculous to deny the use of technical terms to the science of sciences, that which includes in its sphere all others, and is in its very nature as strict as logic or geometry? The Kantian system is not obscure except to persons who will not sit down to acquire it in the same way as they proceed to work the problems of geometry, or perform the calculations of algebra. It is not to be learnt in a desultory picktooth sort of way, any more than the multiplication table. It requires steady attention; it is obscure also to those who, having already imbibed certain systems, are disinclined to abandon the ideas which they have attached to certain terms, for those substituted by KANT. They will dispute as to the choice of words, and such matters of taste. They stand debating formal points on the threshold, instead of walking into the house to examine its beauties or point out its defects. With such we argue not, but we maintain that any liberally-educated person not spoilt by Scotch metaphysics, with enough brain to work his way through any of the sciences in a decent way, or to learn a new language, may in a very few weeks acquire a perfect knowledge of this magnificent system. May we add that the nature of the science is such that it can scarcely be forgotten, and that it is of continual use in *all* other human pursuits.

Thus have we accounted for the origin of the charges of vain glory and obscurity brought against the Kantian.* But what has all this to do with the divarication of the Scriptures? Patience, thou impatient reader! We

* One of the severe objections to Wirgman, is that he uses the term Kantisian instead of Kantian.

set out to prove that there is a criterion for sound moral doctrine in the very constitution of the human mind, and that the moral axioms of our Saviour are tested by this criterion, and found perfect. The proof of this criterion requires as a preliminary step, that you should comprehend in its outlines the metaphysics of KANT, that being the ground upon which Mr. WIRGMAN has built; and hence our apparent digression, which has been made in order to disabuse you of the notion that the metaphysics we build upon is uncertain or incapable of immediate application to the business of life. We shall now call your attention, first, to an outline of the philosophy of KANT, showing on what basis it rests; secondly, on the mode in which the existence of a criterion of moral doctrines is demonstrated from this philosophy; thirdly, on the application of the test to the Christian revelation; fourthly, on the improvements in the social happiness of mankind, which are likely to arise from the establishment of these principles. Having so far paved the way for steady work, we here break off; not that the limits prescribed by our editor are quite exhausted, but because this is a fair burst for a review reader, and the rest of the subject will stand altogether in a connected form in an article we destine for the next number.

SONNET TO MUSIC.

THOU all-pervading spirit! whose abode
 Is with the crowned angels robed in white
 Whose golden harps are pouring, day and night,
 Their praises round the awful throne of God—
 Echo of HIS dread voice, attuned to mortal ears,
 Like HIM thy breathings thro' all things are found:
 Woods, caves, earth, ocean, heaven, are trembling to thy sound;
 And the full heart, whose praise is silent tears,
 Spirit of love and harmony bestowing
 Thy healing balm upon the soul in pain,
 As stormy winds o'er thine own lyre-strings blowing,
 Are charmed to gentle, murmuring sighs again:
 Nature's own language from thy lips is flowing,
 And sage and savage feel alike thy strain.

Ω.

ORIGIN OF THE MARSEILLAISE HYMN.

Is it not Sir WALTER SCOTT? we think it is, who, not long since, in speaking of this national song, supposed the *air* to which it is sung as not originally adapted to the words of the *Marseillaise*, but as being of much older date, and rather serving here to the poet by way of inspiration. Upon what *authority* the supposition is grounded we do not know. The following is the history of the song.—ROUGET DE LISLE, who was a captain of engineers in the French service, is the author; and he wrote these celebrated verses at Strasburgh, in the month of April, 1792, during the night which followed the declaration of war by Austria and Prussia. “*Le Chant de l’armée du Rhin*” was the title given to it by the author; but a daily publication, edited, at that time, by M. DE LISLE, and other young officers of the army of the Rhine, conveyed the animating effusion throughout the south of France. The Marseillais were just then marching upon Paris; they read it on their way; and they arrived at the capital chanting the verses of Captain DE LISLE. Hence it was that the *Chant de l’armée du Rhin* came to be called “*l’Hymne des Marseillais*.” The forty battalions of national volunteers, formed at Paris in fifteen days, beat the Duke of Brunswick and the Prussians in Champagne, on the 28th of September, 1792, and routed them again, in a few days afterwards, at Jemappe. These volunteers were commanded by General DUMOURIEZ, having under his orders General D’ORLEANS, now LOUIS-PHILIPPE THE FIRST, King of the French; and they marched up to each engagement with the enemy, singing, “*Allons, enfants de la patrie*,” &c. The *Marseillaise* was always the song of the French army from 1792 to 1804, when BUONAPARTE, having made himself Emperor, and fearing the feelings of independence encouraged in this sublime hymn, caused *other songs* to be produced, which were better calculated to make soldiers admire emperors than, like the *Marseillaise*, to keep alive the spirit of freedom in the hearts of citizens.

ROUGET DE LISLE, who is now living at the pretty village of *Choisy-le-Roy*, near Paris, was presented, on the 2d of August 1830, with a pension of 1500 francs. Besides the *Marseillaise*, he is the author of a whole volume of lyrical poetry, which has been published, along with a good deal of music of his own composing; and his own account of the inducement to his most famous performance is this. He told us, that his brother officers, knowing he had some pretensions to the poetic and musical, said, upon the occasion referred to, that he must *write a song*. It was, too, required to be forthcoming without delay, and it was, as DE LISLE says, the production of one night’s meditation, the martial muse

being aided only by a fiddle. The bard went off to bed with the injunction of his comrades, and joined them the next morning singing his song.

Granting, then, that DE LISLE is the author of the *words*, it is hardly too much to give him credit also for the *air*, fine as the notes are, like the words themselves. Mere *harmony* is indispensable in some poetry; a main ingredient in most kinds of it. But, unless we doubt the veracity of Captain DE LISLE, we cannot deny his full claim, which is to *the whole* of the *Marseillaise*. To question his capacity, would be to make sound the superior of sense.

There is a valuable fragment of an essay in Mr. MOORE's *Life of SHERIDAN*, which struck us as being one of the best things of the literary sort that we had ever met with. It contains SHERIDAN's view of what is called *metre* in the ancient poets, and shows how much greater a scholar a man may be for being less of a school-boy. JUVENAL, when inviting his friends to his cheer, tells them they will hear no songs of bad fame at his supper, but promises them musical entertainment with *Homer* and *Virgil*; and

Quid refert tales versus quâ voce legantur?

he asks, *What matters the tune when we have such verses to sing?* So might one be satisfied to ask of these verses of DE LISLE, if there were not so remarkable an agreement in character between the words and the air that it is natural to presume they must both have proceeded from the same source of invention. Some vulgar errors have crept into this song, which take away from its sentiment: "*Les maîtres de nos destinées*," should be "*Les moteurs*," &c. "*Dans tes ennemis expirans rois*," should be "*Que tes ennemis expirans voient*." There is a seventh verse, usually appended, beginning, "*Nous entrerons dans la carrière*;" but this was not written by DE LISLE.

Amongst all the good things that the French have pretensions to, where have they so small a share of blessing as in *language for poetry*? Yet this is, perhaps, one of the last particulars in which they would feel grateful for commiseration! We should be willing to forgive MOLIERE all his thefts from *Plautus*, if he could take all the rhymes out of his comedies. The *politics* of the French has been considered their *mania*; but is there any "*gallomania*" so great as the *poetical*? If the Italians, the Spaniards, and the Portuguese, are given to verse, no wonder; for there is that in their languages alone to induce them naturally to fall into it. Nothing but the most ungovernable imagination, or unreasonable ambition, can urge a Frenchman to write comedies in rhyme. Enough of us know French sufficiently well to have informed the world of all the

beauties it possesses of the metrical order. Yet the most favouring critics have been able to preserve little admiration for, and fashionable predilection had soon fallen into disgust with, French poetry. CORNEILLE, VOLTAIRE, RACINE: who can say they have not merit; but who reads out their long passages in heroics without feeling the entertainment a task, and, as in all matters of dry business, looking to *the end* of what he is reading for the pleasure in the relief? Its want of flexibility, the inexorable rules of collocation in French, are fetters for all that would poetize, without saying a word of their wretchedness in rhyme. They have abundance of point in phraseology, but no means of delighting with long periods. Hence we find so much liveliness in their songs and epigrams, and so much of the heavy in their lengthened attempts. In their shortest poems it is only some unusually happy concurrence of words that makes the versification agreeable. The *Marseillaise* is a specimen of this felicity, and also shows, by some lines in it, the poverty of the writer's language. *Horace* might find something to compliment himself upon in the versions of POPE and GARGALLO: but how would he look to see himself dished up in BOILEAU; would it be a frown, or a laugh?

It happens, that since the above was sent to our printers', a gentleman with whom we were not before acquainted has favoured us with a translation of the *Marseillaise*, which has so much of the spirit of the original that we should have been very happy to insert it in this place. But the *penmanship* of our poet frustrates the wish; and until he shall, by writing in a plainer way, let us understand *all* his effusion, we must of necessity enjoy the legible parts of it to the exclusion of our readers. Let us implore our contributors, and more particularly those of the *poetical* class, to make their hand-writing such that it may be read. We are disposed to be accommodating as much as possible: were the dialect of the most outlandish, we should be satisfied in having recourse to an interpreter. But, if it is to be in plain English, pray let it be really so. Whatever puzzles is not *plain*.

†

POLITICAL ETHICS.

MUSTARD OR HONEY.

SOMEWHERE about half a century ago, a certain Moses Kean, uncle, as is believed, to our justly-celebrated tragedian of the same surname, was accustomed, during the season of Lent, to entertain the public, as Charles Mathews does at present, with humorous recitations and imitations of public characters. Turning away his face from the audience for an

instant, he would draw together his brows, and return it in close resemblance to that of Charles Fox, then at the zenith of his glory; and, with much of comic address, would commence and proceed with a patriotic oration in Fox's tone, raising his voice towards shrillness, as that distinguished statesman did as he approached the peroration of a speech. Kean sometimes exhibited in the Strand, and at others from the penetralium of an auction-room in Brewer-street, and he occasionally introduced a comical story, to which we could wish to draw a due share of attention, of two ardent Irishmen, who met to discuss which of two or more things was the most proper for a given purpose; neither of which things, as the audience might readily perceive, was at all fitted for the accomplishment of that purpose. The terms of the question facetiously propounded for deliberation (if we rightly remember), were, "Whether mustard or honey was fittest, to OIL an honest man's wig with."

Might not the political philosophy of modern Europe, *highly-civilized, mental-marching* Europe, where the divine and the schoolmaster have so long been abroad, extract from this Hibernian apologue a salutary lesson; that is to say, if it should be able first to abstract itself into a posterity of a reasonably remote distance of time and space? What else have the Dons, or *Doms* (according to *Standard* authority), Pedro and Miguel,

"Who to their fierce contention bring,
Innumerable force of spirits arm'd,"

been doing *for Portugal*, from the very beginning of their mercenary warfare? What else has been, or continues to be, that unsettled interminable "*Belgian question*"? What, since the glorious 22d of June, has been going on in France, other than an *edifying* discussion which of two dusty modes of proceeding is fittest, both of which are, to an eye of common sense or ordinary discernment, obviously unfit? And what, oh what, to the renowned vision of the philosophers of Paris and Germany, is now emerging from the smoke of our Tory-Whigs, with regard to poor Ireland herself, the scene of our friend Moses's apologue? What must Prince Talleyrand, of X Y Z celebrity, who doubtless looks into the *Mirror* of Parliament, think on this subject, but that our statesmen are warmly disputing whether honey or mustard is the fittest to *oil* the cracked head-piece of an Irishman, while his heart is lacerated? Of England and Scotland we shall now say nothing, though we think much, but close our lucubration for the present with a trite, but simple and just, quotation from Shakspeare:—

"—— the eye sees not itself
But by reflection from some other thing."

CHANGE IN THE TIMES.

“ In regretting the depopulation of the country, I inveigh against the increase of our luxuries ; and here also I expect the shout of modern politicians against me. For twenty or thirty years past, it has been the fashion to consider luxury as one of the greatest national advantages ; and all the wisdom of antiquity in that particular as erroneous. Still, however, I must remain a professed ancient on that head, and continue to think those luxuries prejudicial to states, by which so many vices are introduced, and so many kingdoms have been undone. Indeed, so much has been poured out of late on the other side of the question, that, merely for the sake of novelty and variety, one would sometimes wish to be in the right.”—GOLDSMITH.

I WENT one day last spring, it was on the Wednesday following Whitsunday, with some country cousins to visit one of the royal palaces in the vicinity of London. After going the round of some fine hot-houses in the gardens, and being wearied in mind as well as exhausted in body, the first by replying to the questions of the fair bumpkins, and the latter by the effect of the steaming which I had been undergoing for nearly two hours, I placed my relations (two sisters and their brother) under the care of one of the gardeners, who very civilly undertook to conduct them round the beautiful pleasure-grounds, whilst I bent my way towards a very nice public-house, which has attached to it one of those tea-gardens so innumerable in the vicinity of London, and to which the cockneys have for centuries been accustomed to resort with their wives and children on Sundays and holidays, there to enjoy a little fresh air, along with their tea and bread and butter.

The day was chilly, and, after the steaming above-mentioned, I thought it advisable to read the newspaper, with which I had provided myself, by the side of the fire, rather than in a cold, but clean and well-sanded, room, into which the landlady conducted me. Seeing me look towards the grate, which was well-stuffed with straw, the landlady observed, that as I only wished to await the return of my party, perhaps I would not object to sit in the bar, there being a fire there, and no other persons than her own family. This was not an invitation to be rejected, so I followed the good lady with alacrity, and took the seat she offered to me opposite hers, by the side of a cheerful fire, and felt no desire that my cousins should, in the least, depart from their determination of exploring every nook and corner of the royal gardens. To confess the truth, my anxiety to see my horse fed was somewhat increased by the glimpse I had

caught of my landlady when she received us upon our arrival, and took charge of the ladies' cloaks, &c. &c., for she was one of the finest women I had ever beheld. She appeared to be about five-and-thirty years old; not Juno-like, nor stately, like the queens of their sex, the Roman women; but like many of the *contadine* of the neighbourhood of Florence. Her face was not *perfect*, but her eyes were large, full, and dark; the lashes long and curved; her complexion was a rosy brown, clear and bright, and bearing a look of bustling exercise; and her mouth was not, by its softness, calculated to detract from the combination of intelligence and good-humour which so strongly marked her cheerful happy countenance, but which combination does not always display itself in a handsome face, and never in an ugly one.

The good woman soon began to talk of her children (what *good* woman who *has* any children does not?), and the anxiety which she expressed in such plain and unaffected language to be able to bring up and provide respectably for her family interested me very much. "Times," she said, "were so changed: that she had been married, and living in that house, eighteen years, and that up to the last six years they had done very well:" but that she was afraid her husband would be obliged to give up the business, for that he was not making anything, and that she should be so sorry to leave the house, in which she had lived so long, and where all her children were born: "and good children they are, too, sir, though I say it, as ever saw the light." As she spoke, my eyes followed the direction hers had taken, and they rested on the person of a tall genteel-looking girl, sitting at a table at work; she appeared to be about sixteen, and her mother introduced her to me as her eldest daughter, who, she added, had finished her "schooling," but that the five others were all still to be "educated:" "and," continued my hostess, "you know, sir, in these times it comes very hard, for schooling is so very expensive." I put to her some questions as to the badness of the "*times*," &c., she proceeded to explain to me how their profits had diminished, and the following instance is one of the many similar ones that she gave me. She said that for many years they had taken as much as *seventy* pounds during the Easter week alone, and that this year they had taken but *two* pounds from the morning of Good Friday to the Tuesday following. That the same kind of persons who used to order for dinner, chickens, tongue, asparagus, and two bottles of wine, now dined on a steak, potatoes, and a pint of porter a head. She pointed to the row of shining teapots, and said, "There, sir, not one of them has been taken down yet this Whitsuntide! and my husband was saying, only last night, that he must quit before we spend what little money we have saved, for we really do not make enough to pay the expenses; for what with rent,

"taxes, rates, and tithes, the expenses of the place come to a great deal of money, sir!" I paid alternate attention to the inmates of the bar-room, and, ever and anon, was prevented from hearing all the landlady said, by the opening and banging of the door by a dirty boy who came for porter to carry out, all of which was served by the eldest daughter before-mentioned, who, with a high comb hanging over her forehead like a pent-house, long glittering ear-rings, pinched-in waist, &c. &c., presented an appearance that struck me as being inconsistent with the employment of drawing porter out of a tap into pewter-pots, and handing the said pots (the froth running over the sides through her fingers) to the boy, and to some soldiers, who came in from the barracks hard by.

Mine hostess had not finished her detail of the changes that had taken place in the times, but her tongue was still running on, when in walked an exciseman, who, to be sure, was ugly enough even for an exciseman. A tall gaunt fellow, very much marked with the small-pox, whose hair was of the coarsest and ugliest kind of red; for, be it understood, though every kind of red hair be not ugly, there are some kinds of it exceedingly so. What his inquiry tended to, I could not exactly divine, but he marched off to the cellar, followed by the landlady (though she requested him to wait a few minutes for her husband, who was up stairs dressing to go to a select vestry), and I gathered enough to make me conclude that he was gone to take an account of the number of casks of some kind of liquor or other, in order to frame an excuse, if possible, for squeezing some more money out of my already over-burdened friends of the "*Royal Lion*." Just then the three younger children burst in from school, who, after hanging up bonnets and hats, and tying on pinafores, proceeded to pull out a great heavy drawer in the dresser, and to help themselves to bread and cheese. Their sister called to them that dinner would be ready soon, a piece of information that seemed to be without effect, for it produced no alteration in their attentions to the bread and cheese. "Emma," said she, to a little girl, apparently seven or eight years old, "you have not practised to day, so go up directly and practise till I call you down, for Louisa is doing her drawing now, and she will want the instrument by and by." Practise! thought I, what would an Italian say to the music produced by fingers that by turns touch the strings, and dabble in the froth of London porter! Soon after the little Emma had trudged off to practise, down came Miss Louisa, who had done her drawing, to warm her fingers; a little, delicate, frenchified-looking damsel, who was soon called upon to relieve her sister at the eternal "Tap."

Whether it was the sound of the exciseman's voice that quickened his steps I know not, but the landlord, whom I had not seen before, made a

hasty descent from his attiring room, and appeared, as a landlord should appear, fat, rosy, and good-humoured; in fact, he was a dull-looking likeness of his wife: I think they must be cousins. He invited the exciseman, upon the return from the cellar, to *take something*, and he chose a *glass of sherry*. So! thought I, another change in the times, a draught of fresh porter, though served by hands that play the piano and that paint, is not beverage delicate enough for an exciseman of the year 1832! A bottle of sherry was accordingly brought, and whilst it was being drunk, though the landlord was in haste to attend his vestry, he could not refrain from calling the attention of even the ugly exciseman to the drawing-book of his eldest son, a boy of about thirteen, whom both father and mother assured us was a *genius*, and that it was ten thousand pities he should not be taught by the very first masters, but that really the *times* were different to what they used to be, that they really could not afford to do what they ought for him, so clever as everybody said he was. It is no symptom of change in *times* for fathers and mothers to be bitten with the notion that their own children are more clever than those of other people; and I am inclined to believe, that a majority of the parents of every age have been prone to think their eldest sons geniuses, whether they were blockheads or not; but it is a melancholy change that has taken place in the state of society in England, when publicans think it necessary to have their sons and daughters taught to be painters and musicians, by way of pure embellishment. I could not contemplate this well-intentioned, kind, industrious, yet deluded father and mother, and not wish that the land of their birth, the land in which such grievous changes have taken place in the last fifty years, had been ruled by abler heads and better hearts. I shook them both by the hand, and left the house, wishing with all my heart, that they might, before many years pass over their heads, experience a great, a very great, *change in the times*.

TEMPORA-MORES.

"TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE."

At many periods in the history of the world we find the human mind displaying its supremacy in the manifestations of genius, and illuminating the surrounding moral waste with a brilliant, but transitory semblance of glory; but even these epochs have been too few: they stand like oases in the desert, which mankind has been journeying through in search after happiness. Such was the time when Athens was in her high and palmy state; when Rome had but nearly lost her republican institu-

tions, and had not yet tasted the bitter fruits of despotism ; when VIRGIL, HORACE, OVID, LIVY, and SALLUST, were among her citizens ; and in the 17th century, when nature seemed really working miracles in the production of favourite sons ; when, in their respective countries, there were SHAKSPEARE and a host of dramatists, some hardly his inferiors ; and when there were BACON, BURLEIGH, SPENCER, RALEIGH, CERVANTES, CAMOENS, LOPE DE VEGA, CALDERON, and MARINO. And although the present age has not been wanting in its men of genius, there are other features in the spirit of the times, which clearly point out *this era* as the noblest, and show fair promise that it may be the happiest, in the chapter of human history. Yet the benefits that knowledge has conferred upon society, have not been altogether unalloyed, because *knowledge is power*, and, like all other power possible, is, and likely to be, *abused*. It was this which roused the speculative ROUSSEAU to attack knowledge as well as civilization in the most powerful and popular of his works, *Emile*, and in which he has drawn such a picture of knowledge, as applied to the unnatural purpose of making men, naturally unequal, more unequal ; of making the strong yet stronger, and at the expense of the weak ; in short, forcibly depicting the then state of society in France, where the knowledge and refinement of the few was a curse alike to themselves and the ignorant many. This was literally the case with France before the revolution, when whatever enlightenment there existed at court, only added to its power of doing mischief. It must strike every one as wonderful that so nice a perception of the effects of this order of things in ROUSSEAU, should have been totally unaccompanied with the knowledge of the *cause*, that he did not see that knowledge was both the bane and the antidote, that it was not knowledge that was the evil, but the littleness of that knowledge. We need not have gone from home for examples of this sort : in no country has the monopoly of knowledge been more eagerly grasped at, and more profitably enjoyed, than by the holders of political power in our own country. What national institutions have we to show that we love knowledge or truth for itself alone ? Nothing has been more fashionable in this country of late years, than the dissemination of knowledge amongst youth ; and if real knowledge is now promising to triumph over its enemies, surely we have not our governors to thank for it, but rather those individuals whose private benevolence, however it may have been abused, has established so many primary schools, and the founders of the mechanics' institutions in England, and of the itinerating libraries and schools of arts of Scotland ; for these are the most prominent among the many remote causes which have contributed to destroy the baneful monopoly, and to promote a fair distribution of useful knowledge. It is somewhat curious, that these mechanics' institutions should now owe all

their importance, if not their very existence, to those very attributes which their founders, in a great measure, wished to exclude from them : and this should go some way in qualifying our gratitude to those founders, many of whom, with better hearts than heads, thought they were doing something very noble when they afforded mechanics an opportunity of becoming better acquainted with the several arts which they professed ; thus merely to render them better *tools* in the hands of their task-masters, and little dreaming that the ultimate and legitimate object of such institutions would be to dispense truths of all sorts, and to all who should choose to avail themselves of them, and so confer on every branch of the community a degree of happiness arising from moral and intellectual improvement, which even "the hewers of wood and the drawers of water" shall not fail to participate in. Nothing can be more frivolous, than to think that mechanics' institutions (though their name seems to imply it) are intended for any *one class* of men. They are intellectual forums, where men meet to gather knowledge in common, and knowledge and golden opinions of each other. But, above all, we have to thank those individuals who, through the medium of the press, fettered as it is by slavish, though not ignorantly-framed laws. The press is the mighty engine that will complete the work of education. These fiscal impediments at present injure the efficiency of the press as an instrument of education, and particularly of political education. But come the time must, when really useful knowledge shall be found as abundant at the cottager's fireside, as in the senator's mansion. We have paid the price of such a consummation in the evils which have attended the acquiring of it ; for in this, as in all other great changes, good or evil, we have been inseparably mixed ; we have seen the aristocracy of physical strength, the heroes of antiquity represented by another species of aristocracy, give place to those of wealth, to the bastard offspring of riches. Wealth and pre-eminence in physical strength can naturally be accounted for : it is not wonderful that man in an uncivilized state, should have willingly yielded respect to his physical superiors, nor that wealth should be respected as the representative of industry. But how or why this fanciful creation of the brain, the aristocracy of information, has a claim for such indulgence, I cannot well define. The advance of intelligence will speedily remove it, and the inequality of the human mind will supply the natural aristocracy of talent in its stead. D. STEWART has well said, "*that while the advantages of education are confined to one privileged description of individuals, they but furnish them with an additional engine for debasing and misleading the minds of their inferiors.*"* One of the earliest, and perhaps the most efficient

* Discourse to the Encyclopædia Britannica, page 17.

apostle of this iniquitous misapplication of knowledge, was MACHIAVEL; and although his tyrants' manual, "THE PRINCE," has had apologists, who have ingeniously supposed that it was intended as a bitter satire on the Italian princes and their mode of government, the bad consequences attendant on his writing to mankind, and the love that despots bear them, afford the best criterion to judge of the intentions of the writer.

I believe that every man who is capable of reasoning for himself has already formed his opinion of their evil tendency, and the desirableness of speedily removing all knowledge-taxing enactments from the statute-book. These fiscal barriers to improvement must ultimately be swept away, for as the prophet has said, "*Multi pertransibunt et augitur scientia*:" in the still more emphatical words of our English version, "Many shall go to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased."*

H. P.

LITERARY PUFFING.

"The general (American) taste is decidedly bad; this is obvious, not only from the mass of slip-slop poured forth by the daily and weekly press, but from the *inflated tone of eulogy* in which their *insect authors* are lauded. To an American writer I should think it must be a *flattering distinction to escape the admiration of the newspapers*. Few persons of taste, I imagine, would like such notice as the following, which I copied from a New York paper, where it followed the advertisement of a partnership volume of poems, by a Mr. and Mrs. BROOKS; but of such are their literary notices chiefly composed.

"The lovers of impassioned and classical numbers may promise themselves much gratification from the muse of BROOKS, while the many-stringed harp of his lady, the Norna of the Courier Harp, which none but she can touch, has 'a chord for every heart.'"—*Domestic Manners of the Americans*, by Mrs. TROLLOPE, vol. ii. p. 119.

It seems to be a part of this Mrs. Malaprop's genius, that she is destined to mar her own plots by the way in which she endeavours to

* Our present contributor is an intelligent man, and, in his pertinent observations, has in some degree anticipated us in what we have ourselves to say upon the same subject. Well informed as he appears to be, however, his notion of MACHIAVELLI is more *fashionable* than our own. As a book to be read at this day, we cannot help thinking that "*The Prince*" is calculated to knock down, rather than to uphold, the institutions of despotism. The poet BUTLER, in his indignation against its author, supposes that the devil himself must have obtained the title of "*Old Nick*" from this man, and that he is only the namesake of *Nicholas MACHIAVELLI*. But, the writer's *motive* aside, we can find nothing in this work to prevent its doing more good than harm.

carry them into execution. If we were not quite sure that the *Americans* are the object of the fire she spits, should we not think that this satire must have been intended for the *English*? Supposing her to be sincere in her dislike to be admired by American newspapers, we must congratulate Mrs. TROLLOPE; for, extravagant in eulogy as she shows them to be towards *others*, they are extra-vagabonds with their praises, truly, if they have not allowed *her* the flattering distinction of an escape! In our present notice of this lady we are obliged, in sincere gratitude, to do that which not only the Americans whom she abuses, but even our countrymen whom she flatters, have omitted. She shall be the object of none of that eulogy in an inflated tone which has so shocked her modesty of taste. But we do insist on her receiving our *thanks* in sober earnestness, and we hope she will accept of them without being testy about it; because there is this one good hit, if all the rest be good for nothing, in her book. She has, in ridiculing the puffery of American newspapers, reminded us of that serious evil of precisely the same sort which has, up to this day, been growing greater and greater, and more and more shameless, in our own daily, weekly, monthly, and even quarterly publications, and in which, as it is in most other matters of bad taste or corrupt motive, the inhabitants of the New World are but the imitators of a bad example furnished them by those of Old England.

Our readers will remember, that the first number of this Magazine contained a criticism upon one feat of another critic, the ingenuous censor of the *Quarterly Review*. But perhaps this kind of reviewing, important as it is rendered by the title of "QUARTERLY REVIEW," is but little, in its unfair effects, compared with that to which Mrs. TROLLOPE has invited our attention, and which appears, and which almost everybody is liable to be deceived by, in "*Herald*," "*Globe*," "*Mercury*," "*Times*," "*Advertiser*," or other works, with whatever title, of a merely ephemeral description. Perhaps some of our readers have never yet been aware, that those neat little, and *always commendatory* paragraphs, which they find in *newspapers*, are paid for by the sellers of the book bepraised. Whether the paragraph on Mr. and Mrs. BROOKS were of this description, Mrs. TROLLOPE has forgotten to add. It needed but the charge of baseness in addition to that of folly to give finish to this part of her tirade, and we may fairly allow that absence of the thought alone prevented her from fixing *corruption* also upon the poor American newspaper-man. We thank Mrs. TROLLOPE sincerely, for thus having suggested to us to expose the most mischievous of all the various sorts of false recommendation, vulgarly called *puffing*, in the literary way. When this puffing commenced, the *paragraphs*, on account of their being advertisements, were preceded by "[*Advertisement*]," as we have written it now,

the word placed between brackets ; such paragraphs paid *duty*, of course ; and, having “ [advertisement] ” by way of preface, acted *as such* alone, only being the more valuable, and costing more, by occupying a more eye-catching place. This sort of announcement, however, advantageous as it was, admitted still of *improvement* (what is there not *improveable* in this age ?) ; and, consequently, as the Schoolmaster stalked wider abroad, and scholars became proportionably thick-headed, the paragraphs (though *paid for*) went in as a part of the editor's own voluntary, or, at most, friendly doing.

It is quite unnecessary for us to give any *specimens* of the paragraphs to which we refer, they are so numerous, upon all subjects, and all must have seen them so frequently. Yet one is tempted, on reading Mrs. TROLLOPE's critical observations, to imagine how her advertisers would characterize her work in a puff :—

“ The lovers of the *she-masculine mind* may promise themselves much gratification from the tales of TROLLOPE, the *facts* set forth in which are asserted with even more than manly boldness. But there is a fascination in one part of this work more particularly, relative to the immoral squeamishness of American women, which WE have not words to express, which exceeds all that the most esteemed writers of the other sex have come up to, and which nothing but the virile-feminine could accomplish. OUR readers will experience a peculiarity in their intellectual delight on perusing such a passage as that in which OUR authoress has removed the last traces of the boundary-line marked out by fastidiousness to separate essentially gross indecency from fashionably delicate decorum.”

It is not the means of publicity thus afforded to quacks, or to dealers in blacking or Macassar oil, that we think it worth while to complain against : it is the *literary* department of puffery, as being of the most serious sort, which commands attention, and the duty owed here we most readily acknowledge, knowing that great good may be done by its performance. At this time, there is really enough work to occupy one critic's whole time in *criticising criticism* ; and the most open, and profligate, and hurtful venality, is that of the newspaper press. We do hope to inspire the proprietors of some few “ respectable ” papers with shame : is it not a shame, that the editor's “ WE ” should be prostituted to such a purpose ; and that, for one, two, or three guineas *cash*, praises should be published on the authority of a sensible man to make that sell which, if he were to give his own opinion, he would declare to be good for nothing, and which, very likely, he never even saw ? It is good to observe, on what precisely equal footing are the original productions and the critiques of our day. How much the one is worthy of the other. The London “ *Times* ” does,

if we are not mistaken, still always retain the "[*Advertisement*]:" it can command the insertion without, in taking the reward, condescending to increase its capital by an odious responsibility. The "*Times*" should have all its due for this negative honour, if it be only to expose that mutual meanness, which is discoverable between the criticised and the criticising, in other publications; the aid to which wit has recourse, and the conditions upon which the aider affords it. The public are now so accustomed to being importuned with beggings to buy, and to have the treat in promise before it is laid before them; the wits so far depend on the newspapers, and there is such rivalry amongst the puffers for who shall have most to puff, that, to whatever hearty love may give preference, there is hardly any thing so devoid of attraction, but it is certain to procure a name for merit by a payment of *money*. The injury that this must do to those who have something really worth buying to sell, is obvious. Not only has the ingenious or laborious author of an expensive work to pay dearly with money, and, very often, to give away a *copy* of a dear book, but he has all the disadvantage of coming forth in the common crowd of hundreds of other pretenders, who are, unjustly, enjoying just as much recommendation as himself.

It happens to be in our *power* to do what is wanted here; and it shall be done. We do not ourselves stand in need of the assistance of which we have been speaking; but that is no reason for overlooking those who suffer for want of it, or those who are unfairly benefited by its possession. Pitiable indeed is the poor author whose book is doomed to expire as soon as brought out, only because the press will not take it up. But what a take-up it is! Who, as Mrs. TROLLOPE rightly says, would not rather be even put down? What a means of being lifted aloft; what a "*tollere humo*"! It puts us in mind of TANSILLO's poem, the *Balia*, which Mr. ROSCOE has translated, and which was written to condemn the practice of mothers who call in hired nurses to suckle their children.

Meglio saria farlo di vita privo,
Che in tal guisa il nodrir; poichè si stima
Peggio assai del morir l'esser mal vivo.*

Fathers and mothers are not the first to find out the defects of their children; no more are authors and authoresses with *theirs*. Yet, as to the mercenary nurse, so we ought to be ashamed of resorting to merce-

* Better to see your puny offspring die
Than, from *this* source, its sustenance supply—
Than, bringing art with nature into strife,
Save innate feebleness a sorry life.

nary fosterings of a literary kind. An aspirant to notoriety such as is imagined in Mr. CAMPBELL's *Pleasures of Hope* ought to resign himself to despondency rather than submit to this. Is he of an humbler ambition, even then the dependence is disgraceful. High or low in parentage, rich or poor in means, brought forth in a mansion or in a garret, the progeny of intellect had better be left to die on the cold ground, than be picked up by such hands as *these*, than look to *this* bosom and cry to be cuddled.

†

PARLIAMENTARY PRIVILEGES.

FREEDOM FROM ARREST.

To the Editors of Cobbett's Magazine.

GENTLEMEN,

You will remember that a proposition was made in the House of Commons not long ago, to deprive that house of the *exemption from arrest*, which is, and has so long been, enjoyed by our representatives in parliament, and which some people are disposed to regard as an odious one. I have not written this with a view to *recommend* such a proposition as advisable; but, rather, to draw public attention to the *beneficial use* of the privilege. The constituency do not, in general, consider what is meant by it; for what purpose it was properly intended. When we look to the *origin*, we find that it was one amongst divers important articles, to maintain which in force, the House of Commons had, in old times, to stickle in opposition to the will of the king. They claimed it, in fact, to protect themselves, as the people's representatives, against the arbitrary designs of the crown: it was to ensure them safety from despotism in the discharge of their public duties; and not, as some suppose, merely as a resistance to the payment of their just debts. The privilege is now looked upon by many as an attribute of *aristocracy*, or a valuable shield against the responsibilities of those whose dealings are *profligate*. This, however, is far from being the spirit of the thing, as the laws and our history will show. Times have been, indeed, and they are but lately gone by, when it was much more an advantage to members of parliament to the prejudice of their creditors, than a right claimed by those members for the nation's security. Formerly (as appears by the *Rolls of Parliament*) the members were not thus privileged any further than *while on actual duty as members of the legislature*, which clearly shows for what *purpose* the exemption was first allowed to exist, and on what *grounds* the representatives insisted upon it, as they did in the reign

of HENRY IV. So far (*no farther*, however) senators and representatives are privileged in the United States of America, by the constitution of which (*Article 1, Section 6*) "they shall, in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest *during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to or returning from the same,*" &c.

SIR EDWARD COKE, who does not manifest any great reverence for this kind of privilege, says of QUEEN ELIZABETH, that though she maintained many wars, yet she granted few or no *protections*: and her reason was, "That he was no fit subject to be employed in her service that was *subject to other men's actions.*" It is recorded, however, of WILLIAM III., that he, in 1692, granted a special protection to a *nobleman* to prevent his being arrested by a *tailor*!

I have thought that the insertion of this notice might not be unworthy of the historical or political department of your *Magazine*, as it offers something like a *reason* for continuing an immunity, which, while it is of great importance with those immediately affected, has been viewed by others more remotely, though not less materially interested, in an unfavourable light. Your obedient servant.

P.

Inner Temple, Feb. 7, 1833.

PORTRAITS OF THE SENATE.

NO. II.

A LEARNED LORD.

Ego multos homines excellenti animo ac virtute fuisse, et sine doctrina, naturæ ipsius habitu propè divino, per seipsos et moderatos, et graves extitisse fateor: etiam illud adjungo, sæpiùs ad laudem atque virtutem naturam sine doctrina, quàm sine natura valuisse doctrinam. — CICERO, *pro Archia*. In English: I must confess that there have been many men of excellence in understanding and in virtue, though wanting in learning, who have ranked amongst the highest of mankind, being endowed with both wisdom and justice as the gifts of their nature alone. I will even add, that natural worth, without the advantages of schooling, has more frequently advanced men to glory, and given them credit for goodness, than such advantages have when not associated with natural worth.

We question if LORD BROUGHAM have a twentieth part of the learning that has been attributed to him by the ignorant. But this is nothing

to his shame; does not, at least, detract anything from his genius. A *genius* he is. We have always been amongst his admirers; and have always greatly admired, amongst his other natural gifts, that power which he possesses of making people believe that his ability is unbounded, and that *in him* is to be found the only exception to the maxim, *None of us can do all things*. That "a little learning is a dangerous thing" cannot be too much inculcated with the generality of mankind; especially, perhaps, with the disciples of our LEARNED LORD. Nevertheless, it is also evident, as he has proved, that a little learning may, in *some heads*, be turned to wonderful account. Take, for instance, a celebrated oration upon *The Law*. LORD COKE requires *twenty years of toil* to accomplish a judge; and one of his celebrated successors, in reflecting on the good that *law* had worked in him, tells his son that it was all owing to the *deepness of the draughts* he had swallowed. But genius is not very strict in prescribing doses for self-instruction, and, in noting down what things should be taken, leaves most of them *pro re natâ sumenda*. What marvellousness did a grave and reverend assembly find in the oration we allude to! To be sure: could such men as Mr. HUME have any idea how much a quick and clever man can gather together in a few days?

VOLTAIRE was a mighty scribbler. He wrote on metaphysics and on farming with equal facility, and seems to have *known* as much about the one as about the other; explored all regions, whether of nature or of art; found matter for demonstration in what is merely *etherial*, and could enliven a clod. *Religion* was not too high for him, *ruta-baga* not too low. He had the same flux of observation upon all subjects. Probably it was for those on which his mind was least crowded with correct ideas that he had most words ready to express his opinions. "As with the place of worship and the congregation," says Swift, "so it is with the brain and the tongue: the fewer people there are at church, the quicker they come out at the door-way."

Leaving, as we cannot help doing, a part of this Noble and Learned Senator's character open to question, there is another part of it which those who have seen much of him will admit to be unquestionable. He does excel in that, to excel in which is to be at the top of all. *Oratory* has been his ladder, and it must be his pedestal. As mere rhetoricians, there are none we know who have not some faults. Here, however, you have the *totum in uno* of the art. Action, voice, enunciation; choice, propriety, and strength of language, and method in delivery; quickness to perceive and aptitude in applying; with other *et ceteras*. You can hardly suggest a fault without being finical; hardly question his taste without condemning your own. If he does not at all times do the best, it is not the inability of the *orator* that is to be reproached with the failure. Cautious design or straying judgment must bear the blame. When he *understands what he thinks about*, and *says what he thinks*, here, in comparison with his living rivals, is the most *eloquent* man in England.

SONG.

Go, Lily fair,
To her that's bright and pure like thee,
To Beauty's shrine repair,
And linger there, that she
May learn the truth thou bear'st from me.

Tell her that's young,
That I had pluck'd thine opening flower
From where it sprung,
Within thy lovely valley-bower,
Ere its full beauties bloomed an hour.

But drooping now
All languidly thy lovely head,
Thy brightness fades, and thou
Can'st ne'er efface those stains that shed
Their livid tints upon the dead.

Yet had my hand
Not rashly nipped thee in thy bloom,
This zephyr had but fann'd
From thy fair breast its full perfume:
Not ting'd thy spotless snow with gloom.

And say—like thee
That Virtue brooks not Flattery's breath;
Its fairest hues will be
Tainted and chill'd, and pine beneath
Each glance whose scorching beam is death.

Great is the worth
Of beauty veil'd from public sight,
If no rude hand draw forth
Its shrinking loveliness to light,
And shed o'er Innocence a blight.

Then die, that she
May learn the fate of all things rare
And frail like thee—
That Beauty's gifts will but ensnare
If Virtue dwell not with the fair.

SONG.

BY THE AUTHOR OF "THE SPINNING-WHEEL."

TUNE—*John Anderson.*

LANGSYNE we used to mak' our sales,
Wi' gude hard sterling cash,
Our yellow gowd we weigh'd in scales—
We had nae paper trash;
Nae bankers' kites to flee about
Our fathers ever saw;
But luck has left our biggins now,
Sic days are fled awa'.

We canna' borrow twenty pounds,
But we maun gi'e a bill;
The gauger peeps in every door
We darena' keep a still;
We hae to close our winnocks up
Or else our purses draw,
O! waes me for poor Sawney now,
The 'Chequer seizes a'.

If e'er we buy the public prints,
There's fourpence for a stamp;
Nae doubt, there is the *Magazine*,
His Lordship's penny lamp,
That does illume us wi' its *light*
And mak' us biped draw,
The *only* lair for Sawney now,
'S the *history of the crew*.

If e'er we read WILL. COBBETT'S book
We're ca'd the devil's weans,
They'll mark our shops as radicals,
And haud us in their reins;
But soon we'll ha'e the ballot box,
The card will settle a',
And luck will bless our biggins yet,
Though its been lang awa'.

Could Wallace but come back again
He would us a' disown,
And Royal Bruce, who brake our chains,
Would on us sternly frown;
He barely would believe sic things
Could Scotia's sons befa'—
To Cuba, he would send us o'er
'Mang negro-slaves to draw.

SCENES IN THE SISTER ISLAND.

NO. II.—THE VOW INVIOLEATE—SHAWN BAWN'S PATERNOSTER.

"Well, sir, an' so you don't think there are such things as banshees, good people, an' spirrits that haunt church-yards an' ould castles after night-fall: an' may be you wouldn't believe that the ould castle among the hills you passed by this very day was built by a poor labourin' man that dhreamed three times of a crock of goold that was buried under a whitethorn bush in the garden; so up he got at the first peep o' the mornin', an' began to dig in the very spot he dhreamed of, an' shure enough he wasn't long there 'till he struck something like a slate, an' what was this but the cover of a big black crock, as full as ever it could hould, of guineas an' outlandish coins. So he got mighty rich intirely, an' jist like one of the quality, an' then he built that great big castle, an' sign's by shure, it's called '*Cuishlean Thi Bocht*' to this very hour."*

"'Tis beyont all manner of dubitation," said the schoolmaster, "that dhreams always turn out throe, barrin', when they go by contraries. Didn't St. Patrick himself, when he was young, dhream that all the poor benighted creathurs in Ireland was stretchin' out their hands an' cryin' to him to come an' teach them the throe religion instead o' worshippin' sticks an' stones, an' killin' an' roastin' one another as they used to do in former times, when the Druids, that lived in the woods an' ould trees, were the only clargy they had. An' shure I wanst had a vision myself, that the whole world was turned upside down, an' that the north was down at the bottom, an' the south up in the sky, an' all the land an' wather mixed *threenaheyla*. But it wasn't very long before I found out the meanin' of it all, for Jim Tierney, the poor scholar, ran away an' stole † my ilegint land-compass that I used to set the sun-dials with." "Blur a negurs," rejoined Larry Flannigan, "shure no Christhin man would be bould enough to deny them things, barrin' he was a heathin or a Turk: nothing 's impossible to God, an' that's jist what Father Ned said to the coadjuthor when they wor' discoorsing about some quare dhream of Neddy Codnezure the King of the Turks."—"Nebuchadnezzar you mane," said O'Sullivan, "an' moreover he wasn't King of the Turks at all, but King

* "*Cuishlean Thi Bocht*," or "Poor Tim's Castle," is an old ruin situated on one of a chain of low hills that runs for some miles parallel with the course of the Shannon, and at a short distance from the Munster shore of Lough Deargh. The tradition as to its founder, as given in the text, is still well known amongst the peasantry.

† This figure of "putting the car before the horse," as they term it, is in very great repute amongst the Irish.

of the Chaldeans, or Jews, which is all one."—" 'Tis thrue for you, so he was King of the Jews," said Jack Madden, " doesn't the ould song say so.

" Two pair o' slippers, an' three pair o' shoes,
Spells Nebbycodnazure the King o' the Jews."

" Well, what matther about a thrifle that a way," rejoined Larry, " shure Turks an' Jews is all the same thing. I knew he wasn't King o' the Christians anyhow. But I was jist goin' to tell ye what Father O'Leary said about visions an' dhreams. Father O'Leary," said I, " Father Edward O'Leary! does he live near this?"—" Where else would he live, sir. Isn't he our recthor, long life to him, an' 'tis he's the learned man, an' knows all the ould stories about the people that lived in this country in former times, when the castle was built. That was in the time o' the Danes I believe, when they used to brew out o' thrawneens! By gor, them was fine times shurely; but they kept the secret to themselves when they died, and bad luck to them."—" But you have not told me how far from this Father O'Leary lives."—" Is it how far, sir?—faix it isn't far at all; jist about half an hour's walk."—" That is to say, something over a mile, I suppose."—" By dad it isn't much more any way, sir." Amongst the few letters of introduction which I had procured, was one given me by a professional friend in the metropolis to the Rev. Edward O'Leary, from whom I was led to expect much agreeable and interesting information, being, as my friend gave me to understand, a man of considerable reading, well skilled in all the legends and stories of olden times connected with the neighbourhood, and, above all, possessed of the kindest feelings and most social disposition. I was, therefore, particularly desirous to obtain an interview with the priest without loss of time, and as my journey of the day had been, somewhat shorter than usual, and the good cheer of mine host had fortified my stomach, and raised my spirits considerably above the freezing point, to say the very least, I fancied that a stroll by moonlight—for the silver rays were now streaming through the cracked panes of the window—would be the best possible way of securing myself against the potent influence of Larry's whiskey, and afford me an opportunity of viewing the beautiful scenery in a different dress from that with which it was arranged at sun-set. Having formed this resolve, nothing more remained than to advertise my host of it, which I did forthwith, adding that I would be glad to have the benefit of his directions as to the course I should take. " With submission to your honour's betther judgment," answered Larry, probably with no very disinterested motive, " if I might make so bould I wouldn't recommend you by any means to be walking in the night

air, and shure if you're not in any hurry you'll be fresher afther a good night's rest." Finding me, however, obstinate in refusing to take his advice, he continued, "The night's fine enough, sir, no doubt, but howsomever the way is mighty contrary intirely, and, by gor, there's no knowing how long you'd be walking up an' down the country, like Dinnis Donovan there in Limerick, before you'd find out the house. Och murder! shure 'tis myself that would go across wid you in a hop, only you know yourself, sir, it wouldn't be polite for me to lave the neighbours by themselves, an' they upon my flure. Whist! by the living Jingo, shure I hear the girls burstin' their sides laughin' outside, in the kitchen, an' the divil a one can make 'em do that same like laughin' Jack Murphy. By gor, I'll hould a naggin o' potheen that he's abroad in the thick o' them, an' he's the boy that'll run across wid' your honour in a jiffey." Larry, accordingly, stepped out to the kitchen, where, just as he surmised, he found Jack seated at the fire between his two daughters, whom he contrived to keep in high glee, as the constant bursts of laughter evidenced. Larry ejected him from his happy position in a twinkling, and led him triumphantly into the parlour. Jack Murphy, or, as he was more usually called, Jack Moggy, or laughing Jack, was a tall, gaunt, awkward man, with long thin arms set at the extremity of a narrow chest, and dangling at his sides almost to his knees; a pair of leather breeches, shrunk and shrivelled by constant exposure to rain and heat, to wind and weather, twined lightly around his lank legs, and set off to perfection their admirable uncouthness; on the upper edge of a lean and scraggy neck, which, as is usual amongst the peasantry, was completely uncovered, lolled, a little to one side, a head of no common character. In form it approximated as nearly to a cube as nature ever permits the most extravagant of her simples of humanity to do: the flattened dome of his skull, turning abruptly downwards in front, formed the origin of a low, broad forehead, which was terminated by the nearly straight lines of his black eyebrows; beneath these bushy fences lurked light-grey eyes, keen and deeply set, and unusually distant from each other, a conformation which phrenologists remark strongly indicates curiosity: his mouth traversed no small portion of his face, though the latter had diminished little, if anything, during its progress from the forehead, while his jaw-bones ran back, long and square, till they nearly met a pair of huge, thin, flat ears, that would not have disgraced an animal with double the number of legs Jack could boast of. Notwithstanding all this, when Jack first presented himself before me, his eyes twinkling with the reminiscence of his last joke, and his mouth extended with a broad laugh (and, in truth, it was seldom in any other position, as his name indicated), displaying a double row of strong white tusks, that would have frightened a sea-horse; his

whole physiognomy wore an air of good-humoured fun and frolic that was decidedly prepossessing. But the moment that the play of his features ceased, that his eyes became settled and sobered in attention to my queries, and his thin lips closed; and were tightly compressed; then the whole character of his face was strangely and entirely altered, an expression of low calculating cunning being everywhere predominant, an air of sly yet unflinching determination to pursue his own schemes with little faith or scruple as to the means he adopted, while the constant application of his hand to his head, stroking down his black sleek locks on his forehead, convinced you that he was more designed for a knave than an open rogue. "Jack aviek," said Larry, "will you step over to Father Ned's wid' this gentleman, he doesn't know the way himself; moreover, as you worn't very busy, but only makin' fools o' thim girls outside."—"Oh wid' the greatest pleasure," returned Jack, adding, as he looked towards me with his characteristic slyness, "Shure I'll be nothing the worse for doin' that same."—"Certainly not," said I, in a tone which at once showed him I comprehended his delicate hint at remuneration; and his countenance again assumed its more gay and candid expression as he replied to some interrogation I put concerning the way. "Faith, your honour, 't isn't exactly either straight or crooked, but jist what you may call round an' square, like a pig's elbow. But any way, I know how to bring you there right as well as any man in the parish. Howsomever, Larry, as to what I was sayin' to the girls, if it'll do 'em no good, shure 'twill do 'em no harm, as Docthor Hardy the 'pothecary said whin he gave the ould woman the pills, but I wasn't all out as idle as you think, wasn't I takin' a cup o' tay wid' Mrs. Flannigan; an' darlint fine tay it was."—"So it ought," said Larry, "whin it kem all the way from Dublin in the steamer."—"Oh 'tis, it's the real ginuine stuff, an' not like the trash they sell in the country towns, but takes a mortual strong grip o' the second wather."

Matters being so far adjusted, I was sufficiently skilled in Irish diplomacy, to know the necessity of ratifying all conventions by a classic libation of the native. I therefore filled out a glass, and desired Jack to dispose of it at once, before we started. Now, in truth, this was precisely the command which I naturally expected would have been obeyed with the greatest alacrity, yet I found, that compliance was not quite so easy a matter as I anticipated. He walked slowly up to the table where I was sitting with an appearance of irresolution, as if inclination was struggling with some half-smothered sense of duty; then raising the glass almost to his mouth, he suddenly laid it down again, and thrust it from him with an air of the most ludicrous discontent, "Och! blood and egurs, isn't this a poor case; shure I daren't as much as taste a dhrop of it even to

cool my lips if I was dying of a fever. Amn't I sworn against dhrink since isterday mornin' before Father Ned himself, not to take a dhrup of spirrits inside o'doors or outside o'doors, standin' or walkin', sittin' or lyin', barrin' what he'd give me; and sign's by divil burn the thimbleful I touched ever since; the curse of O'Crummel on thim that persuaded me to bind myself." "Well," said I, rising, "there is no help for it now, and I suppose it is all for the better." "Arrah, wait a bit sir," said he, "who knows but there's some way or other that a body might manage." And his face once more assumed that singularly cunning and sinister expression I have already noticed. "In the name of the blessed virgin! what are you goin' to do, Jack Murphy," exclaimed Donovan. "Shure you wouldn't dare for to break your bible oath? Thim that does that, can't expect grace in this world, or luck in the next." "Keep your timper, Dinnis Donovan," retorted the other, "the less you fume, the longer you'll last, as the divil said to the griddle: by gor, I wouldn't break my oath for the whole lough full of whiskey, an' I'll show every man of ye that same in a shake." So saying, he took up the glass of whiskey, and leaving the room, the door of which he flung open, we could perceive him leizurely crossing the kitchen to the outward entrance. He then placed his back against one of the jambs of the doorway, and a foot at either side of the threshold, and so let himself down until his heels touched the other jamb, his body traversing the whole opening diagonally and resting against the door case. In this attitude he addressed to us a defence of his singular proceedings, calling on us to bear testimony to the inviolability of his oath. "I'm book-sworn," said he, slowly and solemnly, "not to take a dhrup o'spirrits inside o'doors or outside o'doors, standin' or walkin', sittin' or lyin', an', wid the help o'God, I'll keep my vow."—Triumphantly he brandished the glass—raised it to his lips, and in a twinkling, overturned its contents down his throat: a pause, a smack, and then a hard-drawn sigh attested the feat, after which he coolly continued, "an' any body that says I broke it, isn't an honest man. An' now, sir, I'm ready for the road." "Well, well," said the tailor, "did you ever see the like o'that in all your born days? By gor, but you're the play boy, Jack Murphy; the devil have me, if you wouldn't cheat the ould boy himself." "Throth an' you may say that, Peter," said Madden, "Thim that's able to diddle the clargy, wouldn't think much of pulling the divil by the horns." All this time Murphy continued grinning and chuckling over his exploit, taking the remarks of the astonished spectators, which were certainly but very equivocal praise at best, as highly complimentary to his talents.

"What signifies talkin' about a thrifle o' that sort; how could a poor ignorant man ever gain a point against the like o' Father O'Leary, if

he didn't now an' then make a shift to use his mother to it, thanks be to God for it." " Well, any way, there isn't the match of you in the parish, Jack, at gettin' over a thing of the kind : I think Shawn Bawn himself, if he was alive, wouldn't be able to hould a candle to you." " I'll be bound, sir," said mine host, " you never heard the story of Shawn Bawn an' the priest that lived in former times ? 'Tis Mr. O'Sullivan that could tell it to you in real style, because he knows all the hard words that's in it." On this hint I spoke, and the schoolmaster readily promised to tell me the story on some future occasion. This promise he fulfilled not long after, and I will now give it by way of an episode. How far it is true I cannot of course answer, as it is a matter of tradition ; I will only say that the narrator, who by the way must have been a much better judge of the affair, did not express the least doubt of its authenticity. Shawn Bawn, that is, White John (as I could collect from the story), was not sufficiently fortunate to possess much of this world's goods ; and, therefore, having but little of his own to take care of, he turned his attention to the affairs of others, not indeed in the culpable spirit of meddling, but with the highly laudable and philosophical design of obtaining remuneration ; in other words, he served one of the neighbouring gentlemen in the capacity of shepherd. In this employment it may be well supposed that he had seldom a day at his own disposal, so that the constant occupation of his time, conspiring with the utter carelessness wherewith he was naturally disposed to entertain all theological considerations, rendered him a very rare visitant, or rather a total stranger, to the chapel. To the honour of the Irish peasantry, be it said, that of all faults, and they have, alas ! an abundance of them, arising from vices unchecked ; from virtues, or what might have been virtues, untrained and ill-directed ; from ardent and irascible feelings, the cause as well of strong attachments and heroic sacrifices as of the deepest hatred, the deadliest vengeance ; from uncultivated minds and unalleviated poverty. Yet of all faults, neglect in attending " mass " on Sundays, and holidays too, cannot be laid to their charge. If you are at all sceptical on this point, go for once to the chapel during service,—I do not ask you to enter, for that may be impossible,—and view the throng crowding round the doors, and often stretching far beyond them, and I am sure one glance will remove all your doubts ; or, should you be too late for that, the parties hived in the neighbouring shebeen houses invariably flanking the house of prayer, and who have adjourned thither to commune together in " outpourings of the spirit," will, I am convinced, furnish you with the most cheering and satisfactory demonstration of their fervent piety. But I am digressing. Indeed it is not easy for an Irishman, who must by nature be a man of *ardent spirits*, to pass over a subject so congenial to his feelings, so flattering to his character, as a moral and intel-

lectual being, without stopping a moment, vain gloriously, to lift up his voice in one laudatory paragraph. Well, Shawn's total disregard of his religious duties, and the consequent diminution of the priest's exchequer, by reason of the non-payment of divers dues, did not long escape the notice of the worthy and vigilant pastor.

Accordingly, his reverence began to take the case into serious consideration, and as Shawn had by this time nearly shaken off all spiritual restraint, and, as the saying is, was running-amuck, the priest determined to act on the principle of waiver of etiquette long since established by the illustrious Mahomet, on the occasion of his well-known conference with the mountain. He therefore set out one fine morning on a crusade against this lapsed sinner, with the firm intention of encountering him in his own dominions, and forcing him at last into submission. "The cheerful sun his ruddy progress held," as Shawn was, one day, at his old work, strolling among the hills, and but little occupied by those divine contemplations which are said to have engaged the minds of the shepherds of Holy Writ, when the priest, in true Quixotic spirit, stuck spur—for, like Sir Hudibras, he wore but one—in the flank of his nag, and valiantly screwed up to the spot where his contumacious charge stood riveted in perplexity.

"When Shawn seen him comin', sir," said the narrator of the exploit, "he knew well enough what his reverence had in his nose for him, but at any rate he thought it best to show a stout heart and not to look as if he was guilty."—"Shawn," said the priest, when he drew up beside him, "what account can you give of yourself for neglecting your duties, and bringing disgrace on me and the whole parish, as well as ruining yourself by the life you are leading? I'm afraid I must make a public example of you."—"O thin, your reverence, God forbid: shure that would be a murther intirely, an' I up early an' late, workin' hard like an honest, industrious man, an' striving to put a little money together to buy a decent suit o' clothes to go to mass in, as well as to pay your reverence the thrifle o' dues I'm behind hand wid."—"That's no excuse at all," said the priest. "Shure, you know, I couldn't lave the masher's sheep at any rate," said the other; "and your reverence often tould us that 'tis no sin to do a work of necessity on a Sunday."—"Tis not often *you* have heard me, at any rate," replied the priest; "but there's no use in saying anything more about it; if you are not at your prayers next Sunday, I'll make you do penance at the altar."—"Oh thin shure 'tis quite impossible of all days in the year, mustn't I have everything ready for the fair a' Monday: and the dues, your reverence."—"Well, what about the dues?"—"Why, I just scraped 'em together, an' intended to send 'em down to you this very evening."—"Tis no matter," said the priest,

"you must mind your duty, at any rate; but as there is some reason in what you say, since you can't be at mass next Sunday, you must say three Pater-nosters and an Ave every day, and I'll hear you myself as I'm passing by from chapel on Sunday." Now this was just the very last way in the world that Shawn Bawn would fancy of "killing the enemy;" besides, he was supremely ignorant of the aforesaid prayers, both in Latin and English, and entertained an unconquerable aversion to the trouble of learning them. However, an open breach with the priest was not to be thought of: for the consequences would be utterly ruinous, as he would infallibly be excommunicated, and forthwith hunted down like a mad dog by every mother's son in the parish: in fact it was the dread of some such consummation that made him temporize at all, and throw in the little *chance* observation about the dues by way of a soother to the well-merited anger of the priest. He was foiled, and utterly perplexed; he pulled his fingers one after another, scratched his head, shifted his body from the right leg to the left, and then back again, and racked his brains for some means of escape; but in vain. The priest was inexorable, and the prayers were not to be avoided. At last a lucky idea flashed in his brainpan, by which he thought he could perhaps baffle the priest altogether, or at any rate cover his retreat in case of any deficiency at his rehearsal. "Well, of coorse, your reverence knows best what's for my good; but as I'm rather slow at larnin', more especially thim long prayers in Latin"—"That's the very reason I'm giving them to you for penance."—"Well, shure, your reverence is the best judge; but I was goin' to say, as I have no beads to help me, I'll be intirely obliged to you if you'll just let me go my own way to work. Every hard word your reverence teaches me I'll just christen one of the sheep wid, an' so I'll be shure to remember what he stands for; and then, your reverence, I'll be bound, whin I have them all together, I won't miss one single word of my prayers." There was something so extraordinary in the request itself, and so humorous in the look and manner with which he made it, that, as the story goes, the good-hearted old priest could not, for the life of him, resist granting it. "Well then," said he, as soon as Shawn had collected his sheep together, "the first word you are to learn is "*Pater-noster*."—"Pathur-nosthur; an' what's the meanin' o' that, your reverence?"—"Why, it signifies 'Our Father.'"—"Does it thin, your reverence? By dad, thin, I think I have the match of that same word that'll prevent me forgettin' it in a hurry. Come out here, my old grazier," said he, as he threw his crook upon the leg of a fine old "patriarchal ram," who stood with head bent, in an attitude of defence at the front of the flock; "come out till you're christened;" and, singling him out from the rest, he gave him a daub of

raddle across his nose.* “Shure your reverence could not find a betther to begin wid. What’s the next, sir?”—“*Qui*,” said the priest. “Very well; that’ll do for this ould wether, shure he’s quite † enough now at this time of his life. What word comes afther ‘quite,’ your reverence?” “*Es* is the next word, Shawn.”—“Aise, your reverence, aise: oh shure I have the very thing you mintion. By dad here he is himself, an’ ’tis he that would never ax to put one fut before the other: whenever he stirs, he takes it so much to heart wid’ bellowin’ an’ blowin’ like a bagpipes that you’d think ’twould kill him intirely. Go on wid the remainder, plase your reverence.” “*In calis*,” said the priest, “that’s the Latin for ‘in heaven.’”—“Glory be to God! is it, sir? In sales, why thin I have plenty of ’em that was often enough in sales an’ fairs too, but they always come home agin to me like the bad penny. Faix I wish they wor in heaven, God pardon me for sayin’ so of brute bastes that has no sowl to be saved; but I’m well tired of ’em anyway.”—“Well, attend to me now, Shawn,” said the priest, “the next word is ‘*sanctificetur*.’”—“Tundher an’ tare an’ ouns! your reverence, God forgive me for cursin’, but that’s the divil intirely. How will I ever get round such a jaw-breaker at all at all? an’ yourself says it as aisy as ‘peas.’ So what a fine thing it is to have the larnin’.”

The priest after all was but a man, had the faults and failings of a man; but, in chief, that grand failing of the learned—vanity. No wonder then that he was pleased with the well-feigned astonishment and profound admiration of this crafty varlet, and therefore began insensibly to view him with complacency, and favour the person who afforded him this pleasure. “Oh! that’s nothing at all,” said he, “to some of the hard words that are in the Latin authors. What do you think of ‘*Quinquagesima*,’ or ‘*Heautontimerumenus*’?”—“Oh Lord! oh Lord! oh Lord!” said Shawn, putting up his hands to his head with an air of absolute bewilderment, for he had, by this time, with admirable tact discovered of what leg the priest was lame. “You’ll dhrive the little wits that’s in my head out of it intirely.”—“Well, that same would be no great harm to a man in your situation, Shawn.”—“Why not, your reverence? shure ’twould be

* Query. How did he chance to have the raddle so opportunely? I suppose he happened to be going his rounds amongst the sheep, and making his selections for the ensuing fair, and probably carried the raddle in a small pot, as shepherds usually do, when the divine had the good fortune to light upon him. I suggested this *apparent* difficulty, as also the above solution of it, to the learned pedagogue who told me the story, and, I am proud to say, he was pleased to approve of the elucidation, remarking at the same time, that it afforded strong internal evidence of the *truth* of the narration. Fortified by such respectable authority, I feel no hesitation in giving the “*scholium*” to the reader.

† Quiet.

the ruination of me."—"Not at all, Shawn, you'd only be the oftener wool gathering." Shawn now burst out into an immoderate peal of laughter, that almost made the hills ring around him, and in which the jovial old man could not help joining. "The Lord forgive you, sir," he at length contrived to say, "for makin' me laugh at my prayers,"—"Amen!" reverently interrupted the priest; "so we had better go through them: you were at 'sanctificetur.'"—"Say it wanst more for me slow, your reverence."—"Sanc-ti-fi-ce-tur."—"Well, I have it at last, an' shure this little ewe that we bought from yourself will remind me of it."—"How so?" said the priest. "Why your reverence is a saint, and that's no lie; and don't you ate fish every Friday; an' you see that makes 'saint a fish-ather' as nate as possible." The priest's lately recovered gravity was within an ace of being utterly demolished by the extraordinary association of ideas displayed in the formation of this comical compound. However, he commanded himself sufficiently to say, "Go on with the next nomen."—"Here, your reverence, he is to your very hand," said the other, marking with the raddle the best of the lot, "an' I'll be bound *no man* ever laid eyes on a finer."—"Very good, indeed," said the priest, "and so he is. Well the next word is 'tuum.'"—"Chew 'em! the divil a betther name I ever heard for this big fellow here; he's for ever eatin', an sign's by he's as fat as a seal." However, "to make a long story short," it seems this novel mode of instruction was continued through to the end of the Pater-noster, before which time Shawn Bawn had taken so many opportunities of introducing his strange comments and extravagant similes, and had so plied the priest, might and main, with adulation, that the "ave" was entirely *forgotten* by *both*, and the worthy divine rode away, parting from the reprobate with feelings of a far kindlier nature than those he had entertained for him before their meeting.

"Out of sight, out of mind." The priest was no sooner gone than Shawn ceased to trouble his head about the prayers, and "as the sow that was washed turns to her wallowing in the mire," so he quickly relapsed into his old habits, and was up to the eyes, as the saying is, in the preparations for the fair. Sunday, nevertheless, came round, not the more slowly for his not thinking about it, and "before he had time to bless himself," the priest was at his elbow. Shawn was at first a little perplexed, however he trusted that the schooling scene had impressed some of the words on his mind, and for the rest, he left it to Providence and his own ingenuity, so he soon recovered himself. "Good morrow, Shawn," said the priest. "A bright mornin' to your reverence," said the other, "I thought you'd be here before now."—"So I would, Shawn, but the day was very warm, and I did not like to ride fast. Did you say

the prayers that I enjoined you every day?"—"Is it did I say 'em, your reverence? There's *no knowing* how often I said 'em since I seen you on Monday last."—"That's right, Shawn, so now let me hear you rehearse them." The living vocabulary was once more brought up and arrayed in proper sequence, and Shawn proceeded with a stout voice, but rather a quaking heart, to repeat from his rubric. "Begin," said the priest, "Hem—pathurnosther's quite an' aisy——"—"Oh dear! oh dear!" interrupted the priest, in amazement, never having calculated the ludicrous significance of words when combined, which, separately, seemed almost meaningless. "Did any living man ever hear such a murdering of the Lord's Prayer?"—"Faix 'tis the very way your reverence taught it to me," replied Shawn, with imperturbable composure. "Me teach you such gibberish!" said the priest, "'tis all owing to your own stupidity. But begin it again, and go on your own way as well as you can: after all, I could not expect you to pronounce a learned language correctly."—"Pathernosther's quite an' aisy in sales no man 'ud chew him——"—"Why you haven't it right even in your own lingo," said the priest, scarcely able to restrain his laughter at this last monstrous addition. "Try it again, and say it easily."—"Pathurnosther's—quite an' aisy—in sales——"—"Well, what follows that?" said the catechist. "No man 'ud chew him, to be shure," replied the catechumen stoutly. "And what did you do with the 'sanctificetur.'"—"Saint a fish-ether—sainta fish-ether," said Shawn, suddenly brought to a dead halt. Now, this being the hard word that puzzled him so much on the former occasion, he had, as might be expected by this time, completely forgotten it. However, the very form of the priest's interrogatory suggested to his ready wit as strange an excuse as ever entered the head even of an Irishman. "Oh shure enough, your reverence; no wondher for me to lave that out: 'tisn't that I forgot it by any manes, but, to tell you the truth, saint a fish-ether was fat an' we ate her."—"What!" said the priest, almost suffocated by his exertions to maintain composure, "did you eat her already?: why at that rate you must be full of prayers."—"That same's no lie for your reverence," replied Shawn; "for the moment I set to I never rose from my devotions night or day till I got a bellyful of 'em." This was too much for the gravity even of a priest, and, as Corny Sullivan said, "I b'lieve St. Pether himself, if he was there, would burst his sides screechin'." As it was, the little priest scarcely escaped with his life, being well-nigh carried off in an agony of laughter. To resume their orisons in the pastor's enfeebled condition, would have been impossible: indeed all thoughts of them were banished from his recollection, and thus Shawn escaped the penance scot free, and, for anything that history says to the contrary, he might have enjoyed an exemption from

dues and prayers for the rest of his life. "So there, sir," said the school-master, "is the whole account of Shawn Bawn, an' how he diddled the priest, an'," added he, pulling out his watch, "if it isn't a long story shure I think 'tis a good one."

PHELIM O'CONNOR.

PATRIOTISM;

OR,

OUR LOVE FOR AND DUTY TO OUR COUNTRY.

No. II.

It is possible that some few of our best-meaning readers may have felt rather *offended* at expressions that have escaped us upon this subject. But, if such be the case, they shall very soon be reconciled to us. There was one distinct object in particular, to effect which was the task in what has gone before: we undertook, and it certainly was no difficult matter to succeed in such an undertaking, to show that *Patriotism* means nothing, if not an attachment to some one part of the world, *without regard to the rest of it*. In taking this view we spoke sincerely, and not without a little zeal perhaps; and, though not intending to be unfair by omitting anything that necessarily claimed place in the argument, we wished to accomplish our work with no more materials than it really required, to throw aside all *lumber* of logic, to have our propositions as few and as simple, and our conclusions as close, as they could be.

Bidding adieu, then, to the hypocrisy, or the conceit, or the folly, or the mistake, or that, whatever it may happen to be, which deludes with an idea of "*Universal Patriotism*," or "*Citizenship of the World*," let us have a word or two with those, if there be any, whose good feelings have suffered from our remarks. There has been nothing *expressed* with which a sensible and just man could attempt controversy. We were aware, however, that some philanthropists might start at our two or three unqualifying positions, and be disposed to cavil with the reasons in support of them, merely on account of the *further conclusions* to which these arguments may be suspected to have a tendency. But no: there is a long interval between "*Universal Patriotism*" and "*Universal Benevolence*." Nay, for the sake of true Patriotism we are bound to say further, that the companionship of the latter is as *indispensable* to it as that of the former is *incompatible* with genuine love of country. We have asserted, that

NATIONAL PREJUDICE IS A NATIONAL VIRTUE ; adopting the word *prejudice*, only because it has been cast upon us, and in order that the examination of things may not be interrupted by a useless dispute upon words. There is no need that our love of England should shut out all sympathy with the rest of mankind. Why should it ? Our exclusive love of our own country, our liking it better than any other, and thinking most of its happiness and greatness, is what we mean. Nothing short of this is *Patriotism* ; or, *the patriot*, in his profession of love, is but an empty name. Yet up to all this he may act, and still have as much "love of mankind" as your heart can possibly wish him, as much as any man's heart ever had.

But, we have always looked upon it as a most pernicious national propensity, to let our good-natured sensibilities run too far *abroad* with our wits. Very well for the mere man of pleasure, or for the martial hero in search of adventures, to go *a continenting*, or wherever in the world his ease or his ambition may attract him. Not so for us ; for those who cannot go, those who are obliged to stay where they belong, those whose employments confine them to one spot ; not so, for those on whom a country has to depend ; or, to bring the case more home, who are *destined to have their whole dependence for happiness in one country*. Therefore, it does seem most unnatural and impolitic that we should talk lightly of our love and duty towards the land of our birth, and at the same time indulge in rapturous anxiety about Spain, Poland, Portugal, or any other land beyond the confines of our own. Let us look for the utility ; let us revert to experience, if we are not ashamed to look it in the face. What have we seen : ah ! what have we been seen to do ? The rage of universal romance has, in our age, attained perfection, it must be confessed ; but has it not been *romance*, and that alone ? How will the historian have to deal with the scraps of record when he shall come to digest our doings, to perpetuate for posterity these loves of the nations, with "*a novel founded on fact*" ? Men of reflection must have observed, that in all this there have been *proper feelings* at work. But there are two purposes, which ought to be kept separate ; and against all confusion in these we protest, for that confusion is the destroyer of both. Interested fraud has taken effective advantage of it, has promoted the grand error, to its own profit, with success surpassing all previous example. In some future number of our essay we shall have to coerce the vagrant spirit of patriotism still more closely. But let us here, being upon the subject of that sweet interchange of national affections which idle or worthless statesmen keep up for the purpose of their own little tilting-matches with their "gentlemen opposite," and from which no one practical (or, at least, useful) result ever comes ; let us remind our readers

of the universal patriotism that has been shown by us to *Spain*, and let us abide by the result.

The motives of conscientious individuals are out of the question : it was one nation proud of its own strength making overtures to another in distress. Turn back to the speech of Mr. BROUGHAM in parliament, made in 1826, and taking that, at once all fierce and tender as it was, what was the result of this declaration of our national flame, this headlong passion for " espousing the cause " ? Up to this very day we are " sympathising," as it is called, with the Spaniards. Sympathy is proverbially *sweet* ; but in this case it appears to us very like that most detestable of all dishes which the Italians call *agro-dolce*, or *sower-sweet*. " Do you not see General MINA, and the respect which he receives from the " fashionable and the great ? " may be said. Yes, we do. And very sorry, for the sake of our country, are we to see it. That officer is, perhaps, as worthy to be admired as any of his expatriated countrymen. But ostentation is not wanted in dispensing charity, or in recognising brotherhood ; we could have done without all the praise due to our nation in that fact, which is, that MINA has the same hand extended to him in fraternity which gathered the laurels at St. Sebastian. We cannot perceive what good is to come to Spain from this huggery with MINA. If it is calculated to operate by way of *deceit*, we can then too easily account for it. Looking at dejected Spain, then, what have been *our* deeds of national gallantry ? We were not only unwilling to conform to the saying " *Mind your own and let others alone* " ; for we even left our own unminded, in order to meddle in the affairs of other people. The hobby of philanthropy ran away with us over the Pyrenees ; carried us into regions of politics really unknown. No wonder, however ; for who but the few could resist that plaintiveness of the charmer who sought a champion in the freedom of John Bull, and exclaimed with such gentle epithets as " *saintly outrage*," " *superstitious fear*," " *abject slavery*," " *king-craft*," and " *priestly rule and plunder* " ? We had, here, a glorious opportunity to do our own best in this good work, which was so much promoted by those by whom we are ourselves governed. Though it would have been impossible, with the utmost unanimity, to put an end to all men's grievances in Spain, yet we had excellent opportunities of proving our good will, at any rate, because some few of the objects of our sympathy happened to pay us a visit in person ; they came *here*, where we could do everything we pleased for them. And did we do anything ? If " *yes* " be the answer, let it be modestly spoken, and, if not with a blush, with humility at least. The *refugees* have long been in England, and, after having had time to knock and knock again at our door, many and many have remained, aye, remained *here*, and *in want of a*

refuge. This is no romance ; it is the fact. The more we have *said*, in public or in private, as individuals or as a community, with our own tongues, or through those which speak for us, the more is our shame. Free and flourishing as we are, and forward to let the world know it, there was not, when it came to the test, generosity enough to turn all the beggars from Spain into gentlemen ; the " portals of our ancient constitution," wide as they were, were too narrow even to hand out bread and cheese enough for these stranger and starving objects of " old English hospitality."

Come, then, be a little *practical* in the rule for conduct as to these matters, and do not, like the dog in the fable, let fall the substance to grasp at the shadow. Confess, that if English gallantry promised much, there was, in what it effected, a strange display of national nonsense. We have promised to allow that *universal benevolence is necessary* to the truly patriotic ; and we do not think that anything we have said is at all inconsistent with this admission. If you know a man so hard-hearted as not to care at all about the good of his neighbours, as to see but a common acquaintance in distress and not take the least interest in his fate, you may conclude that such a man must be wanting in love for those immediately belonging to him, and that he can hardly be true to his own flesh and blood ; because, so much insensibility on the one hand could not exist along with much kindness on the other. This conclusion is unavoidable. But invert the hypothesis. What shall be said of him who abandons those who are all his own, for the benefit of those who do not at all belong to him ?

The admirers of the *abstract* would be disgusted with that prejudice of the country people which makes them call their countrymen from a neighbouring county "*foreigners.*" We are not so much shocked at this, nevertheless, proof, as it may seem to be, of narrowness of mind. There is good in it, at any rate, though there be some evil ; and we question if the finest philosophy could discover that the *evil* predominates. We must say that the partiality for one community, though confined to the boundaries of a single parish, appears to us to have a far better basis in reason, to tend to more practically beneficial results, than such a flimsy principle as that which would extend our sympathies widely enough to embrace all mankind, and to make all men belong *equally* to all countries. If we are to have either extreme, that of the rustic is surely the best. It is a thing that we shall, further on, have to insist upon, that, if a man be willing, and would be able also, to aid others, his first business should be to keep himself in a condition to do the good work. That he should give a little countenance to the saying, "*Charity begins at home.*" Not so *selfish* a saying, after all ; for examine it closely, and you will find it less

unchristian in effect, and less a reproach to those who act upon it, than is imagined ; since it is those who are most careful in the employment of the means they have, who are, at the same time, the most truly generous in supplying what others stand in need of. We are urged by the moralists to subject our passions to the government of reason ; and *Charity*, if it ever amounts to a passion, has had no exception made in its favour. The moralists did not contemplate her as likely to lead us into harm, or she, too, would certainly have been marked out for wholesome control. Not that any one would attempt to repress one tittle of humane feeling, but merely to pen it up, as it were, within such a compass as should prevent its becoming so diffused, so diluted, as to run over the world never felt, and scarcely heard of, when it might, with proper management, be the agent of practically beneficial results.

†

SENECA'S IDEAS OF BOOK-LEARNING.

READING is necessary ; for it is food to the understanding, and refreshes the powers of thought and invention when fatigued. But you should neither read nor write too much at a time : these should be taken by turns, and the one is the better when mingled with the other, whatever is collected by reading being made to serve either as mental sustenance or as materials for writing. We ought to imitate the bees, who suck the juice from the choicest flowers, and then put it by in their honeycombs. The aliment of the body goes to replenish our blood, and support our strength, when it is digested. So it should be with those things that are food for the mind : they, also, should be *digested*. To read all sorts of books is to be vagrant and light in learning. You must be satisfied with the nourishment of a few books, if you would derive any permanent benefit. Particular sorts of reading produce profit, universal reading is luxury only. Let him who desires to arrive at his object take one way to it, not wander through a variety of ways. You complain of the fewness of books. It is not the number of books that signifies, but the degree of their goodness. Multitude in books is mental distraction. " Now," you say, " I will turn over *this* volume a bit, now let us have a look into *that*." This is like the taste of a stomach disordered by the habit of eating of too many things ; for, the greater the variety in food, the more it hurts and the less nutriment it affords. Read, therefore, the *best* books, and if you sometimes turn aside to others for entertainment, come back again to the *best* ; if you are discursive, and partake of many things in one day, always pick out one that is worth being well digested. This is *my* way.—

EPISTLES.

†

THE BANK AND ITS CHARTER ;

WITH A LEARNED JUDGE'S OPINION ON PAPER-MONEY.

GIBSON AND JOHNSON V. MINET AND TECTOR.

“ I CONFESS myself to be a very imperfect judge of the interests of commerce, and probably I am mistaken in my notions of the effects which this cause may produce in the commercial world. But I will venture to state what has passed in my mind on this subject. I take the interests of commerce to be deeply concerned to support *fair*, and to discountenance *false*, credit. I take it that the interests of gentlemen who trade in the discount of paper-money, and the interests of commerce, are not exactly the same. I apprehend that the commerce of the kingdom may receive a deep wound from the failure of a capital house for half a million, when the persons who have been discounting the paper of such a house shall receive not less than twenty shillings in the pound, *by proving their debts under twenty commissions of bankrupt*. That gentlemen of this description should loudly complain of any check or interruption given to this circulation of fictitious bills of exchange, I can conceive. They may like them the better for being fictitious. He who has circulated a forged bill, will, for very obvious reasons, move heaven and earth in order to raise money to take up that bill when it becomes due, when he can pay no other creditor. That the merchant should join in the complaint is to me incomprehensible. He ought not to forget the original and true use of bills of exchange : that they are bottomed in real mercantile transactions ; that they are then the signs of valuable property and equivalent to specie, enlarging the capital stock of wealth in circulation, and thereby facilitating and increasing the trade and commerce of the country. Such are the bills of exchange which the usage and custom of merchants originally introduced into the mercantile world, and intended to protect. Let the merchant contrast such bills of exchange with that false coinage of base paper-money which has been of late forced into circulation ; the use of which is to encourage a spirit of rash adventure, a spirit of monopoly, a spirit of gaming in commerce, luxury, extravagance, and fraud of every kind, to the ruin and destruction of those whose credulity can be practised upon by a false appearance of regular trade, carried on upon a solid bottom, and then let him say, whether he dreads the reversal of this judgment.” * * * * “ Your lordships have a right to call on me for my best opinion on this subject, and it is my duty, to give it. It is agreed on all hands, that the circulation of these bills is extremely mischievous, and ought to be restrained. It is the great commercial evil of these days, which has grown to a gigantic height. It has enabled needy adventurers to engage in desperate undertakings, relying on the money which they raise on this fictitious credit. On the present question a million of property now depends. No wonder that this traffic has spread poverty, distress, and bankruptcy, through large districts which it has pervaded. To enable the holders of such bills to recover against the acceptors without proving the handwriting of the first payee, is to stamp a credit on the bills themselves. The acceptors without effects are tempted by a large commission to lend their credit. The obvious reason of inserting the name of a fictitious payee is, that too many bills should not appear in circulation in the same name at the same time. * * * * Let the

"ancient law be adhered to, and the evil must in a great degree cease."—*Judgment of Lord Chief Baron EYRE.*

In this case an action had been brought on a bill of exchange, and the cause was tried in the Court of King's Bench on the 24th November, 1789. See 3d vol. Term Reports, p. 481.

A special verdict was returned, and with a view to the case being carried up to the House of Lords. And in the report of the proceeding in that House (1 vol. H. Blackstone's Reports, p. 569), the abstract of the points in question is as follows:—

"If a bill of exchange be drawn in favour of a *fictitious payee*, with the *knowledge* as well of the *acceptor* as the drawer, and the name of such payee be endorsed on it by the drawer *with the knowledge of the acceptor*, which fictitious endorsement purports to be to the drawer himself or his order, and then the drawer endorses the bill to an innocent endorsee for a valuable consideration, and afterwards the bill is accepted, *but it does not appear that there was an intent to defraud* any particular person: such *innocent endorsee for a valuable consideration* may recover against the acceptor as on a *bill payable to bearer*. Perhaps, also, in such case, the innocent endorsee might recover against the acceptor as on a *bill payable to the order of the drawer*; or on a count stating the special circumstances."

THE time is approaching when everything relating to this mighty engine of evil will be interesting to the public. Hitherto the nature of its influence upon the affairs of the community has been rendered so mysterious, notwithstanding the efforts of a few to make it familiar to all, that, generally speaking, the people have looked upon it as the most sacred of all our "institutions." Poor "mother church" has been treated in the most unceremonious manner, whilst the "old lady" of Threadneedle-street has been caressed by all; Mr. ROTHSCHILD and his illustrious "fellow-christian," and all their tribes of followers, being rivals for her favours. We are very much inclined to think, however, that she has lost much of her power of charming: her conduct has been such as to excite a feeling of *jealousy* amongst her devotees; and we should not be surprised if, in her old age, she should be doomed to experience the "curse" of "love to hatred turned." In short, his Majesty has announced, in the speech from the throne, that her past conduct must be "revised;" and we think no apology necessary for lending our humble aid in the good work.

The National Debt was begun in 1692, by the borrowing of *one million* for the purpose of carrying on the war against France, the interest of which was provided for by duties on beer and ale. This happy expedient of borrowing was soon improved upon. If the expenses of government could be defrayed without calling upon the people for the money, it was not to be expected that a minister would neglect so fine an opportunity to

make himself popular with the people, or, at any rate, to secure friends amongst the wealthy; amongst those who had *money to lend*. Accordingly, we find that in 1694, the Bank of England was established. This Bank, which has been so fruitful in creating similar establishments all over the world, and which has been the instrument wherewith profligate ministers have been enabled, within 140 years, to saddle this nation with a debt of EIGHT HUNDRED MILLIONS STERLING; this Bank, begun with a capital of *one million two hundred thousand pounds*, a sum not greatly exceeding that which the "Hero of Waterloo" has received for his services to the boroughmongers, and the despots of the continent.

The coinage being at this time in a very deteriorated state, it was found necessary to call it in, and issue a new coinage, which was done in 1696; occasioning a loss of more than two millions of pounds sterling. This loss was so severely felt, the scarcity of money was so great in consequence of it, that the King was compelled to return from the continent, where, from want of means he had been unable to make any movement against the enemy. So that it is pretty clear that the Bank and its "blest paper credit," saved the new government, and consolidated that system which has entailed upon us the blessings of the debt and everything appertaining to it.

It is curious to observe how slowly the Bank proceeded in its early period in lowering the denomination of its paper. For 60 years after its first establishment it issued no notes below 20*l*. But at this time (in 1755) the debt had amounted to more than 100,000,000*l*., and the amount of paper issued in the payment of the interest, had, consequently, become so great in comparison with the gold, that something of an intermediate value between the 20*l*. note and the guinea, became necessary: hence the issue of notes of 15*l*. at this time. Still the proportion of guineas was inadequate, and *change* was scarce; and in 1759, 10*l*. notes were issued. It would be tedious, and would occupy too much space to detail all the tricks and contrivances by which the system was upheld from the accession of George the Third till the year 1793. At this period the paper had become so abundant in comparison with the gold, that the Bank was compelled to issue notes of 5*l*. to supply the place of gold in making payments below 10*l*. The connexion between the minister and the Bank could now be no longer disguised. Mr. PITT procured the repeal of the act of William and Mary, by which the Bank was prohibited lending money to the government, without consent of parliament; and in four years after (1797) he had borrowed of that body fifteen millions of pounds. The paper had entirely driven the gold out of circulation, and the Bank was compelled to stop payment. All the *respectable* part of the community, the bankers, the merchants, the traders, now rushed forward

to support the government and public credit : declared their resolution to take paper in place of gold, which they said was quite useless, as paper was more convenient as a circulating medium. The Bank put forth an abundance of one and two-pound notes ; country bankers began to do the same ; new country banks in great numbers started up ; and the nation seemed overjoyed at this grand discovery of a " cheap currency."

Extreme joy, however, is in its nature transitory ; and so it proved in this instance. The fluctuations in the prices of all commodities, and the consequent uncertainty in which all men in business became involved, through the uncontrolled issues of paper-money, not only from the Bank of England, but from six or seven hundred country banks, soon produced their natural results : ruin and bankruptcy spread themselves over the land. When there was no insolvent debtors' act in existence, 400 or 500 bankrupts in a year were considered a great number : since the fatal bank-stoppage, the number of bankrupts has sometimes exceeded 2000 in a year ; whilst a permanent court for relief of insolvent debtors exists, which court has had before it more than 5000 unfortunate beings in one year ; and on an average of years discharges about 4000 a year. All these terrible evils directly emanate from the Bank of England ; no wonder, therefore, that his Majesty should recommend " a revision " of the affairs of that establishment.

The extraordinary changes in the management of the money-transactions of the nation, both public and private, which followed the bank-stoppage, baffled the calculations of the most acute observers and the most profound thinkers, as to the probable duration of the system. It was quite manifest to those who understood the subject, that there could never be a *real* return to cash-payments ; that is to say, that gold and silver could never again become the circulating medium of the country ; and no such thing has, in fact, taken place, or can take place. Before 1793, the payments all over the country were made in gold and silver ; banks were almost unknown ; and such a thing as a farmer, or country tradesman or dealer, carrying a *cheque-book* in his pocket was never seen or thought of. Now, how altered is the case ! Go now to a country fair or market, and see the sort of stuff in which payments are made. The corn-jobber pays for the corn he buys by a cheque upon his *banker*, which cheque the farmer pays into the hands of *his* banker ; so that no *money* enters into the transaction. In London, the system has been carried to a pitch of refinement truly surprising. Before the bank-stoppage, only merchants and the higher class of traders kept an account at a banker's ; and up to that time, and indeed for some years after, the Bank of England discounted bills that were not made payable at a banker's. Under this mode of doing business a great deal of money would be constantly

in the hands of individuals; and this, if suffered to continue, might have led to serious inconveniences. The Bank, therefore, resolved to discount no bill that was not made payable at a banker's, and the private bankers did the same to a very great extent. This regulation has caused almost every tradesman, however inconsiderable his business, to keep an account with a banker: so that there is never any money of any amount in the hands of individuals. One effect of this is, that in case of any *panic*, the public cannot demand gold to any considerable extent, because they are afraid of offending their bankers by drawing out their balances. Men in business will not require this to be further dwelt upon. As a proof, however, that the people are tied to their banker in the way we have stated, the case of Frys and Chapman, and that of Remington, Stephenson, and Co., may be mentioned. The former firm was well known to have been in a crazy state for a long time before its final stoppage; and yet owed at its bankruptcy, we believe, nearly half a million sterling. The latter were publicly announced as having failed, and their customers thereby warned of their danger, a week before they finally stopped payment; and yet they shut up shop many hundred thousand pounds in debt.

We have seen enough to convince us that all the concerns of the community are so interwoven with those of the Bank, that nothing would ever be done *voluntarily* by those who have the power to injure its credit. But, recent experience has taught us, that *fear* may so far operate upon individuals as to induce them to do that for their own protection which may lead to the consequences they so much dread. When, a short time ago, the people were told, by placards stuck against the walls, that, "*To stop the Duke, they must get gold!*" they did not run to the Bank so much for the purpose of "stopping the Duke," as for that of securing some gold in case of need. It will be recollected, too, that the demand for gold began to slacken when an assurance was given in parliament, by a bank director, that the alarm was groundless, for that the Bank had *plenty of gold!* At this time the grand exposure had not taken place: the public had not been made acquainted with the perils which the Bank had had to encounter; the public had not then been apprized of the important fact, that it was not the aid received from the *Bank of France*, that saved *our Bank* at the time of the panic, but the lucky discovery of a box of *one-pound notes* which had been preserved by accident. Now, however, the case is altered. If any alarm should now seize the public mind, the demand for gold would not be stopped by any assurances of solidity from those who have been proved to have practised the grossest delusions, and to have palmed the grossest falsehoods upon the community; and we trust that the "*revision*," which his Majesty recommends, will be fol-

lowed by measures calculated to put an end to the frightful state of uncertainty in which the concerns of every individual are now involved.

We confess, however, that we do not expect such measures to be proposed by the present ministers. For, although we believe there are individuals in the ministry who would gladly make great changes in matters of detail, we believe also that they will have little influence with regard to the measures to be proposed. But we hope the reformed House of Commons will meet this question fully and fairly; that it will at once put an end to the pernicious connexion between the Government and the Bank; that it will stop the borrowing of money every year upon exchequer bills, while the government professes to have a *surplus revenue*; that it will inquire how it is that *deficiency bills* are issued by a government having always a surplus; that it will, in short, ascertain the real financial situation of the country, and the means which she possesses, if her good allies of the continent should render it necessary, of carrying on a *real* war. Let it never be forgotten that the exposure which has already taken place with regard to the affairs of the Bank, proves, beyond all question, not only that the public have been hitherto kept in the dark as to those affairs, but that the *managers of the concern* looked upon the ignorance of the people in that respect, as *indispensable to the safety of the establishment*. We know that this is to many a dry and uninteresting subject; but we know, also, that the time is at hand when it will "come home to men's business and bosoms."

We have already alluded to the numerous progeny of our "old lady;" and we think an account of some of their doings on the other side of the Atlantic by no means out of place here. The bubble which burst in *America* about the year 1820, considerable as was the size to which it was blown, had its *origin* in our own suds. In that country, just before that time, there was no little adventurer in trade, honest or dishonest, who could not, by what is called *credit*, have what is called *capital* at his command; and the retailing tradesman would have been looked upon as a dealer in a very *small way*, if he did not have his "account" with some note-manufactory. The American paper-money was at so low a state of depreciation, that *discounters of notes* (the buyers-up of paper with cash or undepreciated paper) were as numerous in each city as the makers of paper-money themselves. The uncertainty of each note-maker's degree of credit was such, that price-currents had to be made out for each day's market, published in the newspapers, and stuck up at the places of exchange. *Nobody*, during a certain series of months, could tell how far *anybody* was worthy to be trusted. The southern states were the most prolific in the paper fabric, and, consequently, throughout that part of the Union was produced the largest portion of rag capital. Were you at Phi-

Philadelphia, New York, or Boston, and just in receipt of a remittance of rags of the Norfolk or Charleston Banks, you had to run quickly to the shop of the discounteer to learn the value of the prize in *real money*. Perhaps the very same post that brought it to you, would also convey an accompaniment of intelligence that it was worth *nothing at all!* To lose 50 *per cent.* was too common to be thought unreasonable; and if you got half as much for a nominal dollar's worth of paper (25), there was still the consolation of every day's experience that you were *much* better off than some of your neighbours. This may appear but a fiction to those who do not take the trouble to think about the matter; and perhaps we ourselves might be amongst the number so to regard such an account, if we had not, as it happens, *witnessed* the fact with our own eyes, and, to a certain extent, participated as *sufferers* in its effects. But, bad as this must have been to a commercial state like America, what must it not have been if that state had been taxed as this nation is taxed; and if the very existence of its government had depended, as the existence of our government depends, upon the credit of paper-money? The government of America, whilst it permits this fraudulent system to work its baneful effects amongst the people, takes especial care to guard *itself* against its operation, by receiving none of the depreciated rags in payment of the taxes. The small amount of the taxes, indeed, enables the government to do this; but what is now taking place in the States will show the government that sound policy would induce it not only to protect *itself* against the rapacity of the paper-money makers, but to prevent them from preying upon the honest and industrious part of the community.

We have before observed that the affairs of the Bank, and its influence upon society, have been rendered mysterious by the arts of those who have profited from the mystery. As pretty an instance as could perhaps be adduced, of the employment of those arts, is to be found in the debates in the House of Commons, on the 5th of June 1828, on the bill for suppressing the circulation of Scotch small notes in England. This was not a question as to the good or evil effects of paper-money generally; but as to whether the country bankers should be encouraged to issue their notes of five and ten pounds, by being allowed to make ones and twos wherewith to pay them. Upon this occasion the speakers on both sides quoted *Locke* and *Hume*, though they must have known, that those authors had never seen, or imagined as possible, a paper circulation such as that which we now have. That Mr. Peel, if he were sincere, in what he said upon this occasion, must have read *Hume* under the influence of a perverted judgment, we think the following extract from that author will fully prove:

"To endeavour artificially to increase credit, can never be the interest

“ of any trading nation ; but must lay them under disadvantages, by
 “ increasing money beyond its natural proportion to labour and commo-
 “ dities, and thereby heightening their price to the merchant and manu-
 “ facturer. And in this view it must be allowed, that no bank could be
 “ more advantageous than such a one as locked up all the money it
 “ received, and never augmented the circulating coin as is usual, by
 “ turning part of its treasures into commerce. A public bank, by this
 “ expedient, might cut off much of the dealings of private bankers and
 “ money-jobbers ; and though the state bore the charge of salaries to
 “ the directors and tellers of this bank (for, according to the preceding
 “ supposition, it would have no profit from its dealing), the national
 “ advantage, resulting from the low price of labour and the destruction of
 “ paper-credit, would be a sufficient compensation.”

The whole tenor of *Hume's* writings on the subject of money and paper-credit, corresponds with the passage above cited. Is it not surprising, then, that there should be found members of parliament to quote him as an authority, not only in favour of paper-money, but of paper-money without limit ? Yet such was the case ; and out of the whole 658 there was not one to do justice to *Hume* ; and, what was still worse, not one to do justice to the misguided and injured people. As to Mr. Peel, we look upon the course which he took as more injurious than that of any other member ; because he quoted *Hume* in favour of the measure for suppressing the one and two-pound notes, leaving it to be inferred that he was favourable to paper-money under certain circumstances ; whereas *Hume's* objections were urged against the principle, and at a time when no notes below 20*l.* had been issued. Indeed, that able writer was of opinion that an increase of *real money*, though desired by all nations, and though attended with many advantages, is attended with disadvantages also ; rendering it, in his opinion, doubtful whether it be, upon the whole, a good or an evil. At any rate, he adds, it is unwise to increase *disadvantages* by the issue of fictitious money.

We consider that we cannot better conclude this subject, than by laying before our readers the following passage from the writings of one who had more practical experience of the effects of paper-money than any other man that ever lived. His profound knowledge on this subject is not the less valuable on account of his unfortunate perverseness with respect to another subject on which he wrote, and which perverseness no one more deeply laments than ourselves. But whilst we hear the memory of Paine loaded with obloquy by those who are ready at all times to do honour to the memory of others who were equally distinguished for their hostility to the Christian religion, we cannot help thinking, that if he had written in *favour* instead of *against* paper-money, and in favour

of arbitrary power, instead of the *Rights of Man*, he might with impunity have written what he pleased on the subject of religion, and have exhibited in his life and conduct an example of every vice.

“ Money, when considered as the fruit of many years’ industry, as the
 “ reward of labour, sweat and toil, as the widow’s dowry and children’s
 “ portion, and as the means of procuring the necessaries, and alleviating
 “ the afflictions of life, and making old age a scene of rest, has some-
 “ thing in it sacred that is not to be sported with, or trusted to the airy
 “ bubble of paper currency.

“ But when an assembly undertake to issue paper as money, the
 “ whole system of safety and certainty is overturned, and property set
 “ afloat. Paper notes given and taken *between individuals* as a promise
 “ of payment is one thing, but paper issued *by an assembly as money* is
 “ another thing. It is like putting an apparition in the place of a man;
 “ it vanishes with looking at, and nothing remains but the air.”—PAINE:
Dissertations on Government. †

MONUMENTS.

NAM sæpe audiui Quintum Maximum, Publium Scipionem, præterea civitatis nostræ præclaros viros solito ita dicere, quum majorum imagines intuerentur, vehementissimè sibi animum ad virtutem accendi: scilicet non ceram illam neque figuram tantam vim in sese habere; sed memoriâ rerum gestarum eam flammam egregiis viris in pectore crescere, neque priùs sedari quam virtus eorum famam atque gloriam adæquaverit. [*I have often heard that Q. Maximus and P. Scipio, and other famous men of our republic, commonly remarked, that when they beheld the statues of their ancestors, their souls became fired with the love of virtue: not that the matter nor the form of them had such intrinsic force; but that the thoughts of the great deeds which they recalled to mind, kindled a fire in the hearts of these great men, which gave them no rest until, by their own conduct, they had obtained equal reputation and glory.*—SALLUST, B. J. iv.

WE have, this month, to remonstrate with the powers of the state upon the ill-use that is being made of the public purse, the prostitution of the arts, and the evil example inculcated by proceedings in the matter of monuments. There is much that we have to complain of under this head; much mischief done, but whether through corruptness of parties or of the age, or through the folly of both, we are not about to inquire into; though certainly much that it becomes us to undo with as little delay as

possible. For the present, we shall confine ourselves to one instance of complaint, namely, that a pillar is now erected in a conspicuous part of the town, to be surmounted by a statue of the late DUKE OF YORK.

If we refer to the origin of monuments and statues, we shall find that they have, from the earliest times, been erected to commemorate the virtues of those who are dead, and to stimulate the living to imitate their example. Sometimes they have been erected to commemorate those who have shone only in private life, and sometimes to commemorate those who have lived and died for the public good : in the former case the affections and gratitude of blood have prompted to the memorial, and in the latter case public gratitude has done the same. Both are honourable. Nobody can question this ; and of all things, surely nothing can act so powerfully on men's minds as example thus held out.* It is, indeed, an attempt to immortalize a mortal, and as far as a part of our senses go, it is immortalizing him. By raising his monument we express our wish that he had lived, for we put up his like as near as may be ; and we desire it to remain for ever, for we fashion it out of the most lasting material that we can find ; where the object of our gratitude is renowned for public life, we invite the whole public to the admiration of him, and put the monument in the most public resort of men.

The motives which ought to actuate us are, first to show a common expression of gratitude to the deceased, and to inspire it in our descendants ; and next, to stimulate one another and ages to come to emulate his example. It is not to be denied, that this is the real object and use of statues and monuments, and that whenever we put one up, we say in effect, "*Imitate this man !*" Some caution ought to be had, therefore, not to make them too common, so that they become unheeded ; but the greatest care of all, is, that none be held up in this way who are not indisputably worthy of imitation : nay, the man or men who neglect this care deserve to be loaded with everlasting reproach ; for here is, indeed, not only a total subversion of the original excellent intention, but much worse, doubtful qualities are held up to admiration ! a thing that every just and sensible man would shrink from with horror. And, when once begun, where would it stop ? From celebrating the doubtful, we might at last come to celebrate the notoriously vicious, and thus openly, unblushingly, proclaim our own disregard of virtue, and hand down to the imitation of our children the effigies of vice !

When such things are done, it is a sign of the last stage of corruptness

* The historian of the Cæsars relates, that the famous conqueror of the world, being at Cadiz, and *seeing the statue of Alexander*, burst into tears, and reproached himself bitterly for not having yet done anything worthy of being remembered, and that thus stimulated he began his exploits.

and profligacy. It has been already a distinguishing mark of such profligacy. It is the pandering of corrupted ministers to vicious princes that generally causes this miserable and degrading effect. No family ever bestows a monument or even a tomb upon its worthless kin; and why should a state? And in happy and well-governed communities no monument do we see but such as commemorate deeds that the community take pride in, that all wish to see handed down to their posterity; while, where luxury, prodigality, and tyranny, prevail in a government, we find the contrary of this one of its surest characteristics. It is, too, a gross act of injustice to the memory of those who really have earned this sort of memorial, for they become confounded with the doubtful, and the effect is, the deserving and undeserving are lumped together in public esteem, and all despised alike. Good taste, therefore, public spirit, a very sacred feeling of justice towards the properly renowned, and a regard to morals, all require of the government which takes this matter in hand, to be scrupulous how it suffers either of these to be offended by the injudicious use of monuments.

The arts are cultivated for nothing so much as that they assist to perpetuate the memory of great deeds and their authors; but the arts would become the detestable instruments in the work of vice if vicious examples were their only production. The arts had better be forgotten, and the artist's hand and chisel much better employed in common masonry than in blazoning forth the features and figure of the profligate politician, the mercenary and incapable commander, or the unjust and abandoned of private life. It has already been a reproach to the fine arts that some of the ages in which they have flourished most have been amongst the most corrupt and profligate, that luxury indulges itself in extravagant encouragement of them, and history bears proof that the reproach is not altogether unjust.

Looking at the column that has been erected on the site of Carlton House and hearing that it is intended as a memorial of the late DUKE of YORK, we cannot help casting about us for a *reason* why the country should pay such honour to this Prince. The pillar is in imitation of that erected at Rome in honour of Trajan, and of that at Paris in honour of Napoleon; to commemorate the deeds of two of the greatest warriors that the world ever saw; but where is the comparison between these men and the one whom we are about to stick up aloft to admire and imitate? Where is the record of his deeds, and what are they, that we are thus called on to imitate them? Alas! we shall find in a very brief review of them, little to imitate and much to avoid.

The pillar at Rome was made out of the fruits of the Roman warrior's conquests, wrought into the shape in which it has stood for seventeen

hundred years ; that at Paris is made of the cannon taken in the conquests of Napoleon : both of them, to those who are enthusiastic admirers of military valour and skill, must always appear the due reward of these properties. But what can they say of our pillar ? not moulded out of brass or iron or even stone acquired by our hero, but out of good solid granite, hard enough, to be sure, for the purposes it is designed for ; likely enough to last as long as the gratitude which caused the pillar to be raised ; but paid for by a people worked to death for the means of a poor bare subsistence, and who, if asked *what for* they erected this costly monument, must answer with vacant stare and open mouth, that, if they did the deed, they are quite innocent of the intention. Never was there, perhaps, any public testimonial so little called for by the public feeling as this one, and never one the propriety of which is more to be doubted. For *what* are we to admire this Prince ? *What* have been his deeds that render him worthy of being continually before our eyes ; and which of them, what part of them, is it recommended to us to imitate ? The pillar of Trajan was erected in Rome in order to make future Trajans ; the column at Paris to make Napoleons ; and this pillar is erected for nothing, for sport, out of folly, or, it is erected in order to furnish us with future Dukes of York. We need not compare the heroes of the several pillars ; but we must give a brief notice of the claims of the Duke of York.

In 1793, he commanded the British army in the Low Countries, where we were carrying on a war together with Dutch and Hanoverian allies, against the French Republic. The Duke of York undertook to besiege Dunkirk, which was commanded by General HOUGHARD, and, according to the French accounts, was but weakly garrisoned, though we do not say so, being unable to trace this in any of our own accounts. The end, however, of the enterprise is sufficient for us : the Duke had driven the French camp off from its ground near the town, had forced it to betake itself to the garrison, and immediately laid siege to the place. The shy and imperfect account given in the *Annual Register* for the year, p. 272, states that the army which was to cover the operations of the besiegers and keep the French in awe, though amounting to 12,000 men, was utterly routed, and its commander taken prisoner for a time ; and that, in about a fortnight, such had been the activity of the French and such the delay of the English, that the Duke was compelled not only to raise the siege, but to decamp in the most hasty and inglorious manner, as is clear from the words : "The Duke now felt himself obliged to raise the " siege. The *military chest was saved*, but the heavy artillery, and a " large quantity of ammunition, were abandoned." To show the dilemma that he was in, and the disgraces that England might have suffered in

this attempt, we need only remark further, that the commander, HOUCHARD, was accused, tried, and put to death, for neglect of his duty in not having driven the Duke and his whole army into the sea! And yet, this siege was undertaken with a fair prospect of success, and the English ministry defended itself upon that ground from the attacks of the then opposition.

In 1799, the Duke's military education and capacity were again put to the test; he had had breathing-time; the English nation was strong in money and in men, while the French republicans had never ceased their wars which they were carrying on against almost the whole of Europe, from 1793 to this time. The DUKE of YORK landed at the Helder on the 9th of September 1799, and took command of an army consisting of 35,000 English and Russian troops; he was aided by Generals Abercrombie, Pulteney, Dundas, Macdonald, and several others, who had landed the whole of the English army ready to his hand; and he was opposed to an army of the French and Dutch, commanded by General Brune, and consisting of 25,000 altogether. He was several times reinforced, so that his army always maintained a superiority of numbers. By our own accounts, we won many victories, but complained sadly all the while of the weather and the country, though in both respects we had what is familiarly called *neighbour's fare*, and gained no visible advantage. After a long narrative of our skill, bravery, and victories, we come to the unaccountable conclusion (*Annual Register* vol. 41, p. 310) that the Duke, having maturely weighed the circumstances in which his army was placed, thought it advisable to withdraw it from its advanced position, and to send Colonel BROWNRIG home to give an account of the state of affairs and to receive further orders! But, a page or two farther on, we are, by implication the strongest imaginable, informed of the real pickle into which the commander had got; for it is stated that in eight days after Colonel BROWNRIG went home for orders, the Generals of the two armies agreed to a suspension of arms, agreeing on both sides, to give up all prisoners taken by their armies respectively, *but*, (ah, that BUT is the monument!) "it was further stipulated, as the " *price of permission to the British troops to re-embark on board their " transports without molestation, that 800 of the seamen, whether Bata-* " *vian republicans or French, who were prisoners in England, should be " given up to the French government!"* Not only compelled to quit the field of so many victories, but to *buy permission* to quit it by giving up the advantages that the fleet had earned in its really numerous and signal conquests! These are the deeds in arms of the warrior whose statue we are erecting, a man, who, though he never was employed again as leader of an army, was nevertheless made commander-in-chief, and so remained till the year 1809; and now let us see whether in this capacity

his deeds were as worthy of immortality and imitation as those we have just noticed.

Quoting no other official publication than the *Annual Register* and *Parliamentary Debates*, we are guided by no biassed party authority; and, indeed, we shall take but little from these that is not *official*. The DUKE, being commander-in-chief, had great military patronage in his hands, and, this year (1809) there were made disclosures of the most abandoned, profligate use of army patronage that ever was heard of. It was even broadly asserted that the DUKE connived at this abuse, and the whole matter was brought before the House of Commons, by Colonel WARDLE, on the 27th January of that year. He stated that the commander-in-chief had the control of the money accruing from the sale of commissions, &c. in the army, but that, instead of this being done in the regular way, and the money applied to the proper uses, the DUKE kept (though a married man) a very expensive establishment in London, the head of which was a Mrs. CLARKE, who regularly sold commissions and appointments, and did so with the knowledge of the DUKE; that she had a regular scale of prices which were handed about, and which were these:—

	<i>Mrs. Clarke's Prices.</i>	<i>Regulated Prices.</i>
A Majority.....	£900	£2600
A Company	700	1500
A Lieutenancy	400	550
An Ensigny	200	400;

amounting, in some cases, to not more than a third, and in others to not more than a half of the regular prices of such commissions; that thus this woman put into her own pocket that which ought to have gone to the military fund arising from such sales. The details of this matter are too well recollected by those who lived thirty years ago to warrant a repetition of them and we shall therefore hurry on to the result of the parliamentary inquiry which Colonel WARDLE obtained, and which lasted seven weeks; but which did not close till a system of both *military* and *church* promotion carried on by the most scandalous brokerage was fully exposed, and proved upon Mrs. CLARKE and her agents. The accusation against the DUKE was, that the whole was done with his knowledge.

Many circumstances were put in evidence of a most extraordinary kind, such, for instance, as the price of one of Mrs. CLARKE's sales going towards buying a service of plate, and for which the DUKE paid the balance; but to go into the evidence would make our paper too long. We shall, therefore, give a short narrative of the resolutions of the house, founded upon the evidence which it had taken, in a very long examination, at the bar. Colonel WARDLE proposed a resolution, that an address

to his Majesty might be founded on it, and which resolution stated, that the house had satisfied itself that the existence of corrupt practices in the army, to a very great extent, had been proved, and concluding, that it was of opinion that these could not have continued, and to such an extent, and for so long a time, without the knowledge of the commander-in-chief, and submitting, therefore, that the Duke of York ought to be dismissed from the command of the army. Lord FOLKESTONE seconded this resolution.

A second resolution, by way of amendment, was proposed by the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. PERCEVAL, expressing a perfect conviction of the falsehood of the charges against the Duke of connivance at Mrs. Clarke's nefarious proceedings, and ending with a hope that "his Royal Highness henceforth will invariably keep in view that bright example of virtuous conduct which the uniform tenor of his Majesty's life, during the course of his whole reign, has uniformly afforded to his whole subjects," &c.

A third was moved by Mr. BATHURST, and is as follows:—"That, while this house acknowledges the beneficent effects of the regulations adopted and acted upon by his Royal Highness, in the general discharge of his duties as commander-in-chief, it has observed with the deepest regret, that, in consequence of a connexion the most immoral and unbecoming, a communication on official subjects, and an influence in the distribution of military appointments and promotions, have been allowed to exist, which could not but lead to discredit the official administration of his Royal Highness, and to give colour and effect, as they have actually done, to transactions the most criminal and disgraceful."

A fourth resolution was proposed by Mr. BANKES; it was an amendment to that of Mr. BATHURST, and is more remarkable, but is too long for us to give at length. The object of it is to express the conviction of the house that the abuses proved could not have existed so long and to such an extent without the knowledge of the Duke; and the concluding words are these:—"The abuses which have been disclosed during the progress of this examination, have unveiled a course of conduct of the worst example to public morals, and highly injurious to the cause of religion, which, if not discountenanced by his Majesty and this house, cannot fail to have a pernicious effect upon those main springs of social order and well-regulated society, which it has been his Majesty's uniform care to support and strengthen by his counsels, and to illustrate by his example."

The house came to a division on Mr. BANKES's amendment, and there were 199 for it, and 294 against it; then on the Chancellor of the Ex-

chequer's, when there were 364 for it, and 123 against it. This last vote decided that the house disbelieved the charge of connivance of the DUKE in the disgraceful acts of his mistress. But this seems to have excited the indignation of some of the members, who feared that the country would be dissatisfied (*Ann. Reg.* vol. 51, p. 140), and therefore a fifth resolution was proposed by Sir T. TURTON, short but strong in condemnation of the DUKE. Then, on the third day afterwards, Mr. PERCEVAL came down to the house, and "hoped that Mr. BATHURST would forego the motion which he had proposed," at the same time informing the house of the fact, that, on the previous Saturday, the DUKE had resigned his command, and he finished by reading the communication of the DUKE to the King, in which he protests his innocence, and refers to the vote of the House of Commons. Mr. BATHURST's resolution was negatived without a division.

But, Lord ALTHORP, who had voted for Col. WARDLE's resolution, implicating the DUKE in all Mrs. CLARKE's transactions, did not suffer the affair to end here. He moved the following resolution:—"That his "Royal Highness the DUKE of YORK having resigned the command of the "army, that house did not *now* think it necessary to proceed any "further in the consideration of the evidence before the committee "appointed to inquire into the conduct of his Royal Highness, so far as "that evidence related to his Royal Highness the DUKE of YORK." Mr. PERCEVAL objected to the word "*now*," and moved that it be left out, which motion was carried after a long debate. A good deal was meant by this little word, a good deal turned upon it, and it was therefore thought worth a fight; but still the former part of the sentence conveyed the principle of which the word *now* only defined the practice. It is evident that what Lord ALTHORP meant was, that, *had the Duke not resigned*, the house would have gone on to declare what hand he had in the affair; but that, as he had resigned, they would not *now* go into that inquiry, but might at some future time. This was taken to mean that the inquiry should be resumed if the DUKE ever was reinstated in office, and a short extract from Lord ALTHORP's speech upon this resolution, on the 20th of March (see *Parl. Debates*), will make this pretty clear:—

"Another assertion of the right hon. Gentleman went to the total acquittal of "the DUKE of YORK as to corruption or connivance. It was not necessary now, "perhaps, to go into this, but, as it was mentioned, he would state that he did "think the DUKE of YORK had been proved guilty of connivance at the corrupt "practices which had taken place; and, if his Royal Highness had continued in "office, he thought that the house must have gone further, and passed a sentence "upon him that would have rendered his resignation unavoidable. With regard

“ to their subsequent proceedings, he was of opinion that the question stood in a state in which the House of Commons ought not to suffer it to remain. He wished to place it on the journals that the DUKE of YORK had resigned. This notification would give consistency to the entire character of their proceedings, and bring it to its proper close, at the same time satisfactorily accounting *why it was closed*. Not, however, that he could be understood to say that he considered removal from office a constitutional punishment; *but it would be in this case so far effective, as to preclude the possibility of that royal Duke being ever reappointed to a situation he has proved himself so incompetent to fill*. No man can, or ought to hold that important situation, who was not in full possession of the confidence of the country. *The Duke of York has forfeited that confidence. He has lost the confidence of the country for ever, and by consequence he must abandon all hopes of ever again returning to that situation.*”

Here we end this narrative of the merits of the late DUKE of YORK, taken from sources the most impartial, or, if partial, it must be towards himself; in which we have given the barest sketch that it was possible to give; and, looking back to what we have transcribed, is there nothing to excite suspicion in the eyes of the people; is there nothing calculated to inspire them with contempt, if not hatred, for the ranks which assume superiority, and, above all, for men who hold political power, in the circumstance that this DUKE was actually reinstated in that very office of commander-in-chief in *two* years after he had, according to Lord ALTHORP, “forfeited the confidence of the country,” and “must abandon all hopes for ever of again returning to that situation!” And does it not show that we are a nation wretchedly poor in men of renown before we could stick up a man of this kind for admiration; or, that we have such grovelling odious taste, or such corruptness of heart, that renown sinks in our eyes before royalty, no matter under what circumstances?

We have done with the DUKE as a public man, and have very few words to say upon his character as a private one, because we lay aside all that rumour sets about, and choose to notice that only which is constantly before the public, in newspaper-paragraphs, headed “*Duke of York's debts*,” and which is a reproach either to the nation or to the Duke. Either the nation was niggardly towards him, or he was prodigal of his means. The former is not likely, is not the fact. The Duke had always the allowance of 18,000*l.* a year, as a junior member of the royal family; he was commander-in-chief a large part of his life, was a field-marshal, a general, colonel of three regiments, ranger of Windsor forest, and steward of Windsor, all appointments bringing him considerable emolument; and from the year 1818 to the year 1820, he was custos (keeper) of his father's person, in which capacity his duty was to visit that father *once every week*, and for doing so he was paid *ten thousand pounds a year* by the nation! Notwithstanding the great sums of money thus given by the

nation, the Duke of York died so deeply immersed in debts, that squabbling for the remnant of his property by creditors is yet going on to the great disgrace of his name; for *why* should such a man, with a full knowledge of the amount of his yearly income, punctually paid, without chance of reverse or deductions of any kind; *why* should such a man be excused for dying in debt any more than the veriest squanderer whom nobody pities, supports, or defends? We cannot see *why*, and, therefore, we consider this to be one more reason on which to remonstrate against the monument to this prince's memory.

But we are not *sure* that this monument is raised by direct levy upon the people. Not quite; but we are quite sure that the people pay for it in "meal or in malt;" and, whether they do it or not, is quite immaterial to the *principle* for which we argue. But, if it be done by direct tax upon the people, upon this people who have paid so largely to the comforts of the Duke of York while living, and were so ill served by him, as Lord Althorp in the above-quoted speech said they were, how can that same Lord Althorp sanction this taking of money from their pockets to raise a monument to commemorate his actions as a military commander and an officer of state, or his habits in private life?

We conclude this paper by reminding the projectors of statues that we are already sufficiently unfortunate in our choice of them. Within a few hundred yards of the one that is here made the object of complaint, there are two, both being the monuments of tyrannical kings, one of whom lost his head for having oppressed his people and driven them to rebellion, which he turned to civil war; and the other of whom was chased from his throne for an attempt to restore the former tyranny. It must lower us in the eyes of foreigners, that we make such ill use of good means; it produces no effect (if not a bad one) on the public mind; and it is certainly holding forth a bad example of impunity to rulers which they are never backward to observe.

†

IRELAND.

"I am as satisfied as that I exist, that if you deal justly with the people of Ireland, and if you remove their real and substantial grievances, they will love the government and love the law as much as any people under the canopy of heaven."—DR. DOYLE.

IN our last number we attempted to account for the unanimity and vehemence with which the people of Ireland have, all at once, demanded

the "repeal of the Union," by tracing the career of Mr. O'Connell in Parliament, and showing that all the wrongs of which Ireland has hitherto had reason to complain, were aggravated by the laws of that Parliament, and the administration of that cabinet, who, according to all external appearances, were hailed as the restorers of liberty in one country, while the seeming strength and popularity thus acquired were turned into the instruments of what is considered oppressive in the other. Having thus accounted for the determination of the Irish people to seek justice *at home*, by showing that every avenue seemed closed to the hope of it from without, we concluded by observing:—"The demand for the repeal of the union has been excited by the denial of justice. It ought to be met by doing justice." We then proceeded to enumerate some of the principal demands made of Parliament by Mr. O'Connell in the name of the Irish people, and promised on a future occasion to vindicate their justice. Of these demands, the first is, "the total extinction of tithes and church-rates." The measure of church reform announced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as the project of the Whig government, calls for the immediate discussion of this question. We proceed to treat of it.

We shall endeavour to do so without prejudice or passion. We shall endeavour to calm the agitations, to subdue the resentment excited by the proposal made by Earl Grey, and acquiesced in by *every member of the upper house, without exception*, for destroying the traces of law and liberty in Ireland; for closing the courts of criminal justice, and substituting for them irresponsible military tribunals; for establishing a pure despotism, not for the abstract love of arbitrary power, but for the purposes of harsh and general oppression. We will not attempt to give an answer to a proposition, which, addressed to freemen, can have no answer from hands unarmed with nothing but the pen. We shall leave this bill and its unmasked authors to the fate which awaits them in the sense of the people; and will proceed, as if that bill were already strangled, as it will be, to discuss the measures of *justice* and not of *coercion*, which must be tendered by the united House of Commons, if that house be indeed reformed, to meet the just demands of the Irish people.

The first demand made by Mr. O'Connell was, "*the total extinction of tithes and church-rates.*" He demanded no less than was necessary to give satisfaction to the people of Ireland. He has now too hastily given his applause to the measure of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which proposes to relieve the people from the minor evil of church-rates, but gives no promise, and affords no hope, on the subject of the master mischief of tithes. The bill of the Chancellor of the Exchequer is not yet printed; but in moving for leave to bring it in, he described its objects to be, to abolish the board of first-fruits, and to substitute for the lapsed

taxation of benefices which that board was established to supervise, a tax of 5 per cent. on livings between 200*l.* and 500*l.* a year; of 7 per cent. on livings between 500*l.* and 800*l.* a year; of 10 per cent. on livings between 800*l.* and 1000*l.* a year; of 12 per cent. on livings between 1000*l.* and 1200*l.* a year; and of 15 per cent. on all livings above 1200*l.* a year. With regard to the bishops, he proposes a tax of 5 per cent. on those incomes which are below 4000*l.* a year; of 7 per cent. on those between 4000*l.* and 6000*l.* a year; of 10 per cent. on those between 6000*l.* and 10,000*l.* a year; and of 15 per cent. on those above 10,000*l.* a year. It is proposed really to *extinguish* the church-rates; and devote the revenue thus levied on church income, first, to the purposes of the church rates; next, to the augmentations of poor livings; third, to giving assistance in the building of glebe houses; fourth, to the dividing of unions, and building of new churches. It is further proposed to reduce the number of dioceses from 22 to 12; and to reduce Tuam and Cashel from archbishoprics to bishoprics. The revenues of some of the bishoprics are to be diminished on the expiration of the present incumbencies. Deans and chapters are to be abolished, or to be charged with the cure of souls, where they are now sinecures. Upon the whole it is proposed to deduct 60,000*l.* a year from the present revenues of the bishops, and this, with the sums derived from taxing the inferior clergy, is to be placed in the hands of commissioners, in the hope, to use the words of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "that it will enable them to augment the value of many of the smaller livings, and to render the revenue of each of those livings *adequate to the support of a clergyman as a gentleman.*"

So far there is nothing taken from the clergy, as a body, except the church cess. There is no proposition which goes beyond the length of a different distribution of the general fund among the same body, for the purpose of removing some of the grossest scandals which now attach to the church establishment in Ireland.

There remains another proposition, which goes more directly to what is called the spoliation of the church. According to the present law, a bishop cannot let his lands for a longer term than twenty-one years. The bishops' lands are generally let at a low rent, on a lease, which is annually renewed on the payment of a fine; so that, when the bishop is translated to a new preferment, or to another world, his successor finds the tenants of his lands in possession for twenty years. The chances are against his mortal life, or at least his pastoral charge, extending beyond the term of these leases, for either the bishopric is a poor one, and the spiritual father looks for a higher charge, or a rich one, and he comes to it late in life. It is to his interest to renew the leases and receive the fine; and thus the tenant acquires a sort of perpetuity in his lease. Re-

cent instances have, however, occurred in which young and vigorous bishops have *run their lives against the leases*, as it is called; and have either ousted the tenants or brought them nearer to a rack-rent. It is part of the proposed measure of Lord Althorp to find a remedy for this, by enabling the tenant to purchase a lease in perpetuity, on a fixed corn-rent, by paying to the bishop a fine, amounting to six years' purchase of his lease. The bishop, however, is not to receive this money on his own account; but the sum calculated, in the whole, at between 2,500,000*l.* and 3,000,000*l.*, is to go to the service of the state. This money does not come from the tenant, because it is optional with him to pay, and he would not pay it, unless he profited by the payment. Besides, Lord Althorp says, that the law "will confer a very great benefit on those who hold bishops' leases." *And so it will*, as we shall have occasion to remark. The money is not to be paid by paper-makers. It must come from somebody; and can come from nobody, but the bishop. Here, then, commences the spoliation of the church. And in this form no objection can be offered to it. But there is more spoliation in this part of the proposition than is at first apparent. The tenants are to profit by this arrangement. They are to have the power to buy leases in perpetuity, by the payment of six years' purchase of their leases. The statement of Lord Althorp is, that the bishops have an interest of 100,000*l.*, and the tenants of 500,000*l.* a year in the bishops' lands. He says that the average value of a bishop's lease in Ireland is twelve and a half years' purchase, and that the possession of the same lease in perpetuity would be worth seven and a half years' purchase more; and on this assumption he founds the proposition that six years' purchase should buy the perpetuity. So that here, on his own showing, is a gift of a year and a half's purchase of the public property of the church to the tenants of bishops' lands. Here is, to this extent, another admitted alienation and confiscation of the public funds for the benefit of the aristocracy, who hold a large and valuable property in these lands. But this is not all. There is much confusion in Lord Althorp's statement of his mode of fixing the rate of purchase. But, even according to his own showing, the tenants of these lands have an interest of 500,000*l.* a year in this public property; and this is to be made theirs for ever for the price of 2,500,000*l.* or 3,000,000*l.* The twelve years and a half purchase which a bishop's lease is worth, is, however, the purchase not of the value of the lease, but of the rent of the land; is the difference between the *actual* rent and the *real* value; and how is this to afford a rule for determining the price which is to be paid for giving a perpetuity in the land? The number of years' purchase is to be fixed in the bill. The sum which is to be multiplied by those years is to be undetermined; and the event will be, that the sum received by the public will be much nearer

to six years' purchase of the assumed *rental*, 100,000*l.*, than to the assumed *value*, 500,000*l.*: and thus it is not improbable that a considerable portion of this valuable public property will be transferred to the aristocracy for a very inconsiderable sum. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, then, expresses himself, in all probability, with great confidence, when he says, "I feel, therefore, that those gentlemen who object to *any interference* with church property, will fully and readily agree to *this proposition*." That they should agree to it, both *fully* and *readily*, does not surprise us; but we cannot understand what there is in it to command the assent, far less the applause, of Mr. O'Connell. The whole project is one for the remote improvement of the appearance, to the public eye, of a system the continuance of which is a public mischief, and for the further and incurable dilapidation of the public revenue already so grievously misapplied. But will this meet the wishes; will this calm the agitation of the Irish people? Will it make one step towards satisfying the modest prayer of a petition presented in the session before last, that in parishes where there is no Protestant, no parson, and no church, no more tithes might be paid? Will it tend in any degree to reconcile the people of Ireland to the existence of that church establishment which has been the fruitful source of countless woes to their country?

Not only does this bill propose nothing with respect to the tithes; but the Lord Chancellor, in introducing it, declares, that "some plan must be adopted to induce the *landlord*, if possible, to undertake the payment of tithes." Even in England the habitual non-residence of the incumbents, the insolence of the superior clergy, the poverty and oppression of the curates; the resistance of the bishops, on religious grounds, to Catholic emancipation; their subsequent support of it from secular considerations; and, above all, their violent hostility to that Reform Bill, the most certain and direct tendency of which was to discountenance immorality in elections; these, in England, have reconciled the great majority of the people, and, perhaps, even of her own members, to strip the church of those temporalities which have been proved by too long experience to tend only to her corruption. If this general disposition on the part of the people, and the contrast between our church establishment and that of the really reformed establishment of France, make reflecting men conscious that the church of England must soon be compelled to divest herself of her pride, and make a nearer approach to the simplicity of the apostolic examples of early Christianity, how insane is the hope to protract the date of the church establishment of Ireland; and what ignorance, or what heedlessness, of the true history of that church does it bespeak, to entertain the slightest hope that the burden will be more easily borne in consequence of being laid on the shoulders of the landlord!

Ireland still is what it has been since the confiscations consequent on the change of religion first, and the change of dynasty afterwards, a country, for the most part, of Protestant landlords, and Roman Catholic tenantry; and the practice, as it now is, has uniformly been, to make the Catholic people the chief, and, as nearly as possible, the sole contributors to the maintenance of the Protestant clergy. It is not certain that the clergy ever succeeded in tithing the grass land, which is chiefly in the hands of large proprietors. When they attempted to draw it within the reach of their exactions, in the reign of Queen Anne, it was resisted by the whole of the country gentlemen, by combinations as violent as any which have been recently formed for similar purposes. The House of Commons joined in the combination, and by votes which were not made law till 1800, though they had all the practical effect of law, declared all the grazing land of Ireland exempt from tithes. It also happened that in the northern provinces, where a considerable portion of the tenants of the farms as well as the owners of the land were Protestant settlers, *potatoes* were not tithed, so that all the rigour of the law, and all the weight of the impost, fell exclusively upon those parts of the country where the exaction of tithes from the Catholic inhabitants was hardly kept in countenance by the existence of a flock wherewith to charge the Protestant pastor. The system, therefore, was one merely of tribute or booty; of exaction by the strong from the weak, by the conquerors from the conquered. Nothing in the shape or in the name of law, short of the terrific penal code, could have maintained it; it was seen to be inconsistent with the concession of any degree of political power to the Catholics; and accordingly, though the votes of ejectment, as those votes were styled which exempted the grass lands from tithe, were formed into a law by the Irish parliament in the year 1800; yet when the necessity of conceding emancipation became apparent, those interested in Irish church property endeavoured to throw another cover over the scandal of the church system, by making it one of the enactments of the "Tithe Composition Act," that the tithe-rate should be levied equally on the grass and on the arable land. This was actually made law. A new act of parliament was passed giving the parson the same amount of income; in some cases, an increase of income; but levying now upon the whole land of the parish, that for which the arable land only had formerly been liable; exempting the poorer occupiers indeed from a portion of their burden, but laying that portion on the shoulders of others, on whom the parson had theretofore no legal claim to lay it; making him, in fact, if he be a sleeping partner in the land, a sleeping partner with those whose property was thus arbitrarily, and without the slightest equivalent, transferred from the owner to the parson. To this extraordinary clause was

added, and for the same reason, another, the object of which was to cause, in all new leases, the tithe to be paid by the landlord, and not by the tenant. The composition was not to be a compulsory, nor could it be a permanent arrangement. It was to be made by the joint consent of the parson and a certain number of the parishioners, and was to last, when made, for one-and-twenty years, after which the parson's right of taking the tithe in kind, or making a new composition, reverted to him; but a right of taking the tithe of hay as well as of corn.

Those who read the evidence and the reports laid before Parliament on Irish affairs, will find that the project which the aristocracy and clergy are really aiming at, is to make the Tithe Composition Act, and especially those clauses of it, compulsory. And laws which offer a greater outrage to the rights of property, it is not possible to conceive.

Setting aside, however, the justice and the decency of thus passing a law to impress all the little landholders of Ireland into the service of the church, and of the aristocracy to whom the church belongs, in the character of tithe proctors and drivers; let us take a glance at the effects which the partial and in some sort voluntary application of these laws has had upon the state of society in Ireland; and then we shall be better able to judge of the wisdom of forcing this nostrum down the throats of the Irish people as a lenitive of the present symptoms of irritation.

It was pretended that the object of making the landlord liable for the tithes, was to relieve the tenant. Mr. John Musgrave, of the county of Wexford, who was examined before the committee of the House of Commons on the state of the Irish poor in 1830, gives some striking evidence on this point. He says, in speaking of the Tithe Composition Act, "The amount of the tithe composition appears to have been intended to be thrown upon the landlord in all future leases; but I believe the effect has not been what was calculated upon." He was asked, "Then are the committee to understand that that provision of the Tithe Composition Act has not been carried into effect?" He answers, "So far as this, that, in contracts for rents, the amount of tithe composition is generally added to the rent, so as, in fact, not to fall upon the landlord." This evidence is confirmed by the experience of Mr. Dyas, in the county of Meath; of the Rev. Mr. Hickey, a Protestant clergyman, in the county of Wexford; and of Mr. Anthony Blake, apparently in the county of Galway. Experience, then, has proved that this is the case, and justice says that it ought to be. For the only pretence of justice in giving the parson a claim upon the landlord is, that the tithe is now a charge on his estate, though paid by the farmer; and if the payment be transferred from the farmer to the landlord, he, of course, cannot be expected to give the farmer credit for having paid it for him. This deserves notice,

not only as showing that it is vain pretence to affect to relieve the farmer by charging the tithe upon the landlord ; but also as a practical answer to the fallacy that it would not relieve the farmer to *abolish tithe altogether*.

The evidence as to the other clause, however, gives us more interesting matter. Mr. Dyas, who had acted as a commissioner under the Tithe Composition Act, was asked, "Has the operation of that bill given satisfaction where it has been decided?" He answers, "It has *to a certain degree* : it has relieved the small farmer that holds from ten to twenty acres ; it has taken the burden away from him in the way of tithe from what he paid formerly, but *it has not relieved the extensive landholder*, it has rather been *an injury to him*." He was asked, "The relief which has been given to the poor has been compensated by an additional burden on the richer parties?" He answers, "It has." The truth then is, that the effect of the Tithe Composition Act, which the parsons want now to render general and compulsory, is to give them security on the property of new parties, for what they can no longer exact from the poor. We do not say that they ought to continue to exact from the poor ; but if they can no longer continue to plunder them, we do contend that gives them no title, whether by act of parliament or otherwise, to despoil other people. The Irish occupiers of land feel this ; and therefore there is a more potent if a less amiable feeling at work than sympathy for the poor in the present universal determination, a determination not more general than it is just, *to pay no more tithes*. We allude to this feeling to show the impolicy of the tithe war. We adduce the facts which have produced this feeling, to show that it is not in order to uphold the rights of the church, but to invade the rights of property in behalf of the church, that Earl Grey demands the aid of martial law. But we will not abandon the best part of the case of Ireland against the invading priests, by omitting all mention of their practical oppression of the poor. We will borrow one or two illustrations from the evidence of Dr. Doyle on the tithe committee, evidence which ought to be read by every Englishman, who wishes to know the true rise, progress, and merits of the war between the people of Ireland and the church establishment.

Dr. DOYLE was asked to account for the violent opposition to tithe in some of the parishes within his knowledge ; he gave in substance the following account of the parish of Mountrath. This parish had been held for forty years by an absentee parson, Dean SCOTT, who received from it an income of 500*l.* a year, and in that course of time had only once been within the parish. After the death of Dean SCOTT, which occurred in 1827, the benefice was not collated upon any clergyman for a year or two. In the mean time, by a new mode of valuation, a considerably

larger income was wrested from the parishioners. At the end of two years the Rev. JOHN LATOUCHE was appointed to the living, "came there, and by a good deal of address and industry on his own part, and that of his friends, the people were prevailed on to adopt the Tithe Composition Act, under which the parish became liable to the payment of 1500*l.* a year." This was determined at a vestry meeting. "At this vestry," we quote the words of Dr. DOYLE, "Mr. LATOUCHE got the parish into the composition for 1500*l.*; but certainly through the votes of persons *not paying tithe in the parish*, such as 50*l.* freeholders, magistrates possessing a certain property in the parish, persons seeking and expecting to be appointed commissioners, and so forth." The Board of First Fruits has funds for assisting in the building of churches. Mr. LATOUCHE became an absentee. His curate determined to enlarge the church, and applied for assistance to the Board of First Fruits. Their funds were applicable only to the *building*, not to the repairing or enlarging of churches. The curate, at a secret meeting, procured authority to pull down the church, which had been substantially built only thirty years before, and was in excellent repair. He did pull it down despite of the remonstrances of his Protestant parishioners, and proceeded to rebuild it by a vestry cess levied on the parishioners in general, in a vestry in which Catholics are not allowed to vote. "These grievances," adds the bishop, "with many others too tedious to enumerate, have so galled and irritated the people of this parish with the established church, that they have determined now and for ever to shake it off, and never again to pay *one penny tithe or church cess in voluntary cash payment*. The good bishop also put in nineteen cases, which he called a few, stating that "innumerable cases of the same kind might be collected," of the tender mercies of these pastors to the shorn lambs of their flocks. We will take only one, which seems to us to afford a very strong argument for arming parson-magistrates with the powers of martial law.

"The widow Brennan of Borrisomore can swear that when her husband died, and left her eight children, she owed the Rev. Mr. Vigers about 9*l.* tithe. She held six acres, which were generally tithed at 3*l.* per year, for which she passed her note. She was soon after processed and decreed for the same; her harvest being reaped and stacked, his proctors seized on the produce of better than an acre of good wheat (which was considered by her neighbours to make nine barrels), and sold it, and *were themselves the purchasers*. It was taken to Mr. Vigers's barn, and sold by him at 2*l.* per barrel. The widow, having no seed to sow about half an acre, went with tears in her eyes to beg that he would give her as much as would sow it, and also begged he would give her the straw for manure; but all in vain: his

“ reply was, he wanted to buy bread for his children ; her children might
“ starve if they would.”

Let the reader not forget that this was done in the name and for the honour of Jesus Christ, who brought the message of peace on earth, and good will to men ! This is the picture of the Irish church militant. This is the system which now demands the support of martial law. The project which ministers have to carry through is, to induce the landlord, if possible, to undertake *the payment of tithe*, to relieve the church from the odium of wresting all from the misery of the poor, who have hitherto been her chief prey ; but to compensate her by transferring to her, by act of parliament, a share in the property of all the landlords, and in the industry of all the graziers in Ireland. This is the project which the ministers have to carry through. It demands, it stands in need of, the aid of martial law.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

THREE Years in North America. By James Stuart, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1833.

The Working Man's Companion, and Political Magazine. Weekly. 4to. London, 1833.

A Moral and Political Sketch of the United States of North America. By Achille Murat. 1 vol. 12mo. London, 1833.

Indigestion : its Causes, Consequences, and Treatment. By R. J. Culverwell, Surgeon, Member of the Royal College, &c. 1 vol. 12mo. London, 1833.

Cui Bono ? or, the Prospects of a Free Trade in Tea ; a Dialogue. Pamphlet, 8vo. London, 1833.

A Plan whereby to Relieve the Middle and Industrious Classes of 6,000,000 annually, in the Poor-rates and Assessed Taxes, &c. By Capt. J. Deans. Pamphlet, 8vo. London, 1833.

The Truth ; a Weekly, Radical, Christian, and Family Newspaper. London. Feb. 1833.

The Death-bed of Politics ; or, the Coming of the Comet in Seven Days ; a Poem ; with humorous Etchings. 8vo. London, 1833.

The Chameleon. Second Series. 8vo. London, 1833.

EVENTS OF THE MONTH, PUBLIC DOCUMENTS, &c.

January 29th.—The first day of meeting of the reformed House of Commons.—ELECTION OF SPEAKER—Mr. Hume moved, "That Edward John Littleton, Esq., be placed in the chair of this House." Seconded by Mr. O'Connell. Lord Morpeth moved that the Right Hon. C. M. Sutton should be placed in the chair. Mr. Sutton was elected, the votes being :—

For Sutton.....241
For Littleton..... 31

31st.—The King delivered the following speech to Parliament in person :—

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" The period being now arrived at which the business of parliament is usually resumed, I have called you together for the discharge of the important duties with which you are intrusted. Never at any time did subjects of greater interest and magnitude call for your attention.

" I have still to lament the continuance of the civil war in Portugal, which has for some months existed between the princes of the house of Braganza. From the commencement of this contest I have abstained from all interference, except such as was required for the protection of British subjects resident in Portugal; but you may be assured that I shall not fail to avail myself of any opportunity that may be afforded me to assist in restoring peace to a country with which the interests of my dominions are so intimately connected.

" I have also to regret that my earnest endeavours to effect a definitive arrangement between Holland and Belgium, have hitherto been unsuccessful. I found myself at length compelled, in conjunction with the King of the French, to take measures for the execution of the treaty of the 15th Nov. 1831. The capture of the citadel of Antwerp has in part accomplished that object, but the Dutch government still refusing to evacuate the rest of the territories assigned to Belgium by that treaty, the embargo which I had directed to be imposed on the Dutch commerce has been continued. Negotiations are again commenced, and you may rely on their being conducted on my part as they have uniformly been, with the single view of ensuring to Holland and Belgium a separate existence, on principles of mutual security and independence.

" The good faith and honour with which the French government has acted in these transactions, and the assurances which I continue to receive from the chief powers of Europe of their friendly disposition, give me confidence in the success of my endeavours to preserve the general peace. I have given directions that the various papers which are necessary for your information on the affairs of Holland and Belgium should be laid before you.

" The approaching termination of the charters of the Bank of England and of the East India Company, will require a revision of these establishments, and I rely on your wisdom for making such provisions for the important interests connected with them, as may appear from experience, and full consideration, to be best calculated to secure public credit, to improve and extend our commerce, and to promote the general prosperity and power of the British empire.

" Your attention will also be directed to the state of the church, more particularly as regards its temporalities and the maintenance of the clergy. The complaints which have arisen from the collection of tithes appear to require a change of system, which without diminishing the means of maintaining the established clergy in respectability and usefulness, may prevent the collision of interests, and the consequent derangement and dissatisfaction which have too frequently prevailed between the ministers of the church and their parishioners. It may also be necessary for you to consider what remedies may be applied for the correction

of acknowledged abuses, and whether the revenues of the church may not admit of a more equitable and judicious distribution.

"In your deliberations on these important subjects, it cannot be necessary for me to impress upon you the duty of carefully attending to the security of the church established by law in these realms, and to the true interests of religion.

"In relation to Ireland, with a view of removing the causes of complaint which had been so generally felt, and which had been attended with such unfortunate consequences, an act was passed during the last session of parliament for carrying into effect a general composition for tithes. To complete that salutary work, I recommend to you, in conjunction with such other amendments of the law as may be found applicable to that part of my dominions, the adoption of a measure by which, upon the principle of a just commutation, the possessors of land may be enabled to free themselves from the burden of an annual payment.

"To the further reform that may be necessary, you will probably find that, although the established church of Ireland is by law permanently united with that of England, the peculiarities of their respective circumstances will require a separate consideration. There are other subjects hardly less important to the general peace and welfare of Ireland, affecting the administration of justice, and the local taxation of that country, to which your attention will also be required.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"I have directed the estimates for the service of the year to be laid before you. They will be framed with the most anxious attention to all useful economy. Notwithstanding the large reduction in the estimates of the last year, I am happy to inform you that all the extraordinary services which the exigencies of the times required, have been amply provided for. The state of the revenue, as compared with the public expenditure, has hitherto fully realized the expectations that were formed at the close of the last session.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"In this part of the United Kingdom, with few exceptions, the public peace has been preserved; and it will be your anxious but grateful duty to promote by all practicable means, habits of industry and good order amongst the labouring classes of the community.

"On my part, I shall be ready to co-operate to the utmost of my power, in obviating all causes of complaint, and in promoting all well-considered measures of improvement. But it is my painful duty to observe that the disturbances in Ireland, to which I adverted at the close of the last session, have greatly increased.

"A spirit of insubordination and violence has risen to the most fearful height, rendering life and property insecure, defying the authority of the law, and threatening the most fatal consequences, if not promptly and effectually repressed.

"I feel confident, that to your loyalty and patriotism, I shall not resort in vain for assistance in these afflicting circumstances, and that you will be ready to adopt such measures of salutary precaution, and to intrust to me such additional powers as may be found necessary for controlling and punishing the disturbers of the public peace, and strengthening the legislative union between the two countries, which with your support, and under the blessing of Divine Providence, I am determined to maintain by all the means in my power, as indissolubly connected with the peace, security, and welfare of my dominions."

Mr. O'Connell moved, "That the House do resolve itself into a committee of the whole House to consider of the address to his Majesty." Seconded by Mr. Cobbett. A debate on the King's speech ensued, which was adjourned.

February 6th.—The same debate in the House of Commons continued.

7th.—The same debate in the House of Commons continued.

8th.—The same debate in the House of Commons continued. The House divided on Mr. O'Connell's motion, the votes being:—

For the motion 40
Against it 428

11th.—On its being moved that the report on the address be brought up, a debate took place; and after the address had been read, Mr. Cobbett moved as an amendment as follows, seconded by Mr. John Fielden:—

" MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN—We, your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, express to your Majesty our humble thanks for your Majesty's most gracious speech from the throne.

" We thank your Majesty for the information which your Majesty has been graciously pleased to communicate to us relative to those proceedings which your Majesty, in virtue of your constitutional and just prerogative, has caused to be adopted with regard to Portugal, Belgium, and Holland: and, being perfectly assured that every act of your Majesty with regard to those countries will proceed from that anxious solicitude which your Majesty has constantly evinced to promote the interests of your dutiful people, and to maintain the honour of the kingdom, we give your Majesty our assurance, that we shall receive with the greatest respect, and shall bestow our best and most sedulous attention upon, those various papers relating to the affairs of Holland and Belgium, which your Majesty has been graciously pleased to intimate that your Majesty has given directions to be laid before us.

" We assure your Majesty, that, with regard to the charters of the Bank of England and the East India Company, we shall enter with care and diligence on a revision of those establishments; and that the best of our endeavours will be employed to arrive at such a decision as shall be best calculated to secure real and solid public credit, as well as to promote the general prosperity and power of your Majesty's kingdom.

" Well knowing, and most acutely feeling, the sorrowful effects of the present mode of maintaining the clergy of the established church, both in England and Ireland, we are peculiarly grateful to your Majesty for having suggested to us the making of very great and extensive alterations with regard to the temporalities of that church; and it is with particular earnestness that we beg your Majesty to be assured, that we shall enter upon the task with all the patience, all the diligence, and all the absence of passion and of prejudice, which the interesting and momentous subject so imperiously demands; and that we confidently hope, that the result of our consultations will tend to the good of the church, the safety, honour, and welfare of your Majesty and your kingdom; and that this most important matter will be so ordered and settled by our endeavours, that peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety, may be established amongst us for all generations.

" While we humbly present to your Majesty our most grateful thanks for having been graciously pleased to assure us that your Majesty has directed the estimates for the service of the ensuing year to be framed with the most anxious attention to economy; and while we assure your Majesty that nothing shall be wanting on our part to reward habits of industry and promote good order amongst the labouring classes of the community, our bounden duty to our constituents, as well as to your Majesty, compels us to express to your Majesty our deep regret that your Majesty should not have been advised graciously to suggest to us to consider of the means of lightening the numerous and heavy burdens which are a discouragement to that industry, and which so cruelly oppress those meritorious and suffering classes; and we assure your Majesty that we will, with all diligence and zeal, proceed to an investigation of the causes which have produced those burdens and their consequent sufferings, and to the adoption of measures which shall, in our judgment, be calculated to produce effectual and permanent relief.

" Most sincerely do we participate with your Majesty in that pain which your Majesty's paternal solicitude for the welfare of your people has induced your Majesty graciously to express with regard to the disturbances in Ireland; and we assure your Majesty that we shall be ready, at all times, to adopt any constitutional measures that may be necessary for controlling and punishing the disturbers of the public peace, and for preserving and strengthening those ties which connect the two countries in indissoluble bonds of loyalty to your Majesty, deeming, as we do, a separation of the two countries to be fraught with destruction to the peace, security, and welfare of your Majesty's dominions; and, convinced as we are that nothing but unjust and cruel treatment of our fellow-subjects in Ireland can ever induce any portion of them to desire such separation, we most solemnly assure your Majesty that we will never give our sanction to their being treated with injustice and cruelty, and that we will with the smallest possible delay proceed to the consideration of means of redressing those manifold grievances under which they have so long been suffering, and which are, we are firmly convinced, the real cause of the present unhappy disturbances."

The votes on this motion of Mr. Cobbett's, were :—

For his amendment..... 23

Against it 323

12th.—Lord Althorp brought forward in the House of Commons the plan of the Government for a revision of church affairs in Ireland.—(See our article in the present Number "Ireland.")

13th.—*House of Lords*.—Lord Grey introduced a bill for promoting peace in Ireland, our abstract of which is as follows :—

§ 1. Declares it necessary to give powers to the Lord Lieutenant to suppress any meeting, or assembly or adjourned meeting, that he may think dangerous to the public peace; and that persons disobeying the order, to be deemed guilty of misdemeanour.

§ 2. That any two justices may, on receiving information of any meeting in doors or out, that has been prohibited, and if not allowed entrance, break in and read a command to disperse, and if the people do not disperse in a quarter of an hour, they may be arrested and convicted before two justices and sent to prison for 3 months, and, if for a second offence, for a year.

§ 3. And if prosecuted by indictment, must plead forthwith and go to trial.

§ 4. Lord Lieutenant, or Chief Governor or Governors of Ireland, with advice of Privy Council in Ireland, may proclaim any county in a state of disturbance and subject to this act.

§ 5. Such proclamation shall be a warning to all inhabitants of the county or district, to keep within their houses from sun-set to sun-rise.

§ 6. Proclamation to be fixed in some one public place in the proclaimed district.

§ 7. When such proclamation is issued, all peace officers, and all commissioned officers of army, to take the most vigorous measures for suppressing disturbances, and to search for, arrest, detain, and bring to trial persons charged with offences under this act.

§ 8. The *Dublin Gazette* containing proclamation to be taken as sufficient proof of promulgation of it.

§ 9. No meeting whatever to petition parliament, or to discuss or deliberate on any matter concerning grievances, or touching church or state, shall be held unless a written notice of it be given ten days previously to the Lord Lieutenant, and his consent in writing obtained. Persons so meeting, without this, to be guilty of misdemeanour, and tried by the courts appointed by this Act.

§ 10. Lord Lieutenant to appoint commissioned officers of the army to try offences under this Act. They must be 21 years of age, and have been two years in the army.

§ 11. These courts-martial are to consist of not less than five nor more than nine officers, and are to have all the powers of such courts, and also of courts of oyer and terminer, jail delivery, and sessions.

12. Lord Lieutenant to appoint a sergeant-at-law or counsel to act as judge-advocate.

§ 13. Short oath to be taken by members of court-martial.

§ 14. Acts and decisions of majority of members to bind all.

§ 15. Empowers courts-martial to issue orders for bringing before them persons charged, and requires all peace officers, &c. to attend to such orders.

§ 16. Allows them to commit for 3 months persons whom they summon as witnesses and who refuse to attend.

§ 17. That persons offending against the Act of 27th Geo. III. may be tried by these courts; but, if the offence be *capital* they shall not, unless by direction of the Lord Lieutenant, and then the punishment to be *transportation for not less than seven years*.

§ 18. That any peace officer or person appointed by Lord Lieutenant may apprehend and commit anybody in a proclaimed district found in fields, streets, highways, or elsewhere, out of his dwelling between sun-set and sun-rise. And such person shall be deemed guilty of misdemeanour, and be tried and punished by court-martial.

§ 19. And any justice, or person authorised by him, and accompanied by a commissioned officer of army, or by a chief constable of police, may after sun-set enter any house in a proclaimed district, or if refused, break into such house, to see if the inmates be at home, and to search for arms, ammunition, or other offensive weapons; and if inmates not within, they may be punished by court-martial for misdemeanour.

§ 20. And if such householder have any arms, ammunition, pike, pike-head, spear, dirk, &c., after having been called on to deliver it up, he shall be deemed guilty of misdemeanour, and punished by court-martial.

§ 21. Persons hawking seditious pamphlets and papers, to be deemed guilty of misdemeanour, and punished by court-martial.

§ 22. Injury to person or property of those who appear as juror, witness, &c., or intimidations by menace or otherwise to deter others from appearing as such or as witnesses, to be punished by transportation for not less than seven nor more than fourteen years.

§ 23. Nothing done under authority of this act in any proclaimed district to be cognizable by any court of the United Kingdom, civil or criminal. But officers to be responsible to courts-martial.

§ 24. Any person may be empowered to arrest, and persons arrested may be detained anywhere in Ireland; and jailers may be changed as often as need be, and persons imprisoned may be moved to other prisons as often.

§ 25. Copies of warrants to be kept in the office of the Pleas of the Crown, Dublin.

§ 26. Witnesses swearing falsely shall be liable to the punishment consequent on conviction for wilful and corrupt perjury.

§ 27. *Habeas Corpus* taken away.

§ 28. No justice to bail any one charged with offence cognizable by court-martial; no person to be *kept in custody more than three months without being brought to trial*.

§ 29. Justices of adjacent counties may act under this act in proclaimed counties.

§ 30. Same powers given to and required from magistrates of counties, of towns, as from magistrates of counties at large.

§ 31. If any suit, plaint, action, or information, be brought against any one for anything done under this act, it must be brought within the county where done, and prosecuted within three months after the doing, and if plaintiff shall fail he shall pay *treble costs*. On such suit, the offender may plead the general issue of not guilty, and plead *this act* together with the matter on which the suit is grounded.

§ 32. Is intended to meet the case where it may be doubtful whether the suit is begun on account of anything done in consequence of this act, and therefore where the *verdict is for the defendant*, and the judge before whom it is tried shall think it *was* begun as above-stated, he shall certify this, and thereupon adjudge *treble costs to the defendant*. And, if the plaintiff shall suffer nonsuit, or discontinuance, or fail to prosecute his suit, the defendant may *suggest on the record*

that it was begun in consequence of an act done under this act, and thereupon this matter shall be tried (if the prosecutor do not give way) at *Nisi Prius*; and if the prosecutor will not go to the trial of this suggestion, or if he do and it be found good, then he shall pay the treble costs together with costs of the suggestion and proceedings upon it.

§ 33. Provides that a verdict shall be given to any plaintiff in such a suit against any magistrate, peace officer, or other person, for taking, imprisoning, and detaining any one, or for entering houses under colour of this act, and it shall appear to the judge before whom the suit is tried, that *there was probable cause for doing the act*, he shall certify it on the record, and the plaintiff have *only sixpence damages and no costs*. But, if the judge shall think that it was done out of malice and wilfully, then he shall certify that, and the plaintiff be entitled to treble the costs of the suit.

§ 34. The Lord Lieutenant, or governors, with advice of the Irish Privy Council, may revoke the proclamation, either as to the whole or part of a district, as they please.

§ 35. Nothing in this act is to be construed to take away from the King his prerogative or power to resort to martial law against open enemies or traitors, or any power vested in the Lord Lieutenant or governors of Ireland, to suppress insurrection, disturbance or rebellion.

§ 36. That this act continue in force till 1834.

To this Bill, which has passed the House of Lords, there have been two amendments proposed in that house, which are as follows:—

1. Enacts that after the passing of this act, no person shall make or aid in making *beacon, bonfire, light, fire, flash or blaze*, or any signal by *smoke* or by any rocket, firework, flag, or by firing gun, or *blowing horns*, or by *ringing church bells*, or by any other contrivance or device for giving notice to any persons engaged in combination or assemblies against the provision of this act; and that no person shall make, assist in making, or be present at the making such notice, signal &c., to persons to assemble together for any purpose not warranted by law, or which is prohibited by this act; and if any person contrary to the true meaning of this act, shall do so, he is to be deemed guilty of misdemeanour, and shall be tried by court-martial if the same be done within a proclaimed district; if not, then he shall be tried by common law.

2. Any person charged with having made signal as above shall, to clear himself, be bound to prove that it was not done with such intent.

14th.—Mr. Pease, a Quaker, and the member for Durham, was allowed to take his seat in the House of Commons, making his affirmation only in place of an oath.—Lord Althorp brought forward his motion in the House of Commons for a select committee to take into consideration the existing corporations in England and Ireland. Agreed to, without division.—Mr. Hume brought forward a motion for a purpose expressed in the following, his proposed resolutions:—

1. That it is the opinion of this house, that the utmost attention to economy in all the branches of public expenditure is, at all times, a great and important duty.

2. That it is the opinion of this house that sinecure offices, and offices held by deputy in the army and navy, are unnecessary and inexpedient as a means of remunerating public services.

For this motion 138

Against it 232

18th.—It being the order of the day for bringing up the report of the committee of supply, Mr. Cobbett proposed certain resolutions for the adoption of the House relative to the duties on stamps. After a discussion of some length, these resolutions were withdrawn, for the present, without the House dividing.

19th.—Mr. Stanley brought forward his measure for bettering the grand jury system of Ireland.

20th.—Lord Althorp proposed certain resolutions respecting the hours of attendance in the House of Commons, which were adopted by way of experiment.

IMPORTANT FROM CHARLESTON.

(From the *Morning Chronicle*, 21st February.)

By the ship *Calhoun*, Captain Sutton, from Charleston, we have received papers from that city to the evening of the 23rd instant.

At a meeting held at the Circus on the 21st, at which more than 3000 persons were present, Charles C. Pinckney, lieutenant-governor, presided, and Alexander H. Brown was secretary. Judge Colcock addressed the citizens in a speech, as the *State Rights Evening Post* terms it, replete with warm and enthusiastic sentiments of patriotism, which was concluded by the reading of a string of resolutions, occupying a column and a half of that paper, in which the principles of the President's proclamation are denounced in the most unmeasured terms, and all the doctrines of nullification, to their fullest extent, are revived and enjoined.

From the account in the *Charleston Mercury* we copy the following :—

The chairman was surrounded by veterans of the revolution, who exhibited throughout the proceedings an interest and animation unsurpassed by that of the most ardent youth present, and none could look upon the assembly, and hear the burning words of the speakers, and observe the eager sympathy with which they were met, and fail to be convinced that every heart there was beating warmly, and every arm nerved and ready against tyranny, come in what shape it may !

The resolutions proposed were seconded by General Hamilton, whose speech was frequently interrupted by bursts of enthusiastic applause. He approved decidedly of the resolution recommending that we should avoid all conflict with the Federal authorities, while the bill modifying the tariff was yet before Congress. We owed this to our friends out of the state. We could pause with honour. His conduct would be guided by the tone of the resolution proposed. He had himself made an importation, having made a shipment of rice to the Havannah, and ordered a return cargo of sugar. He would allow his importation to go into the custom-house stores, and wait events. He would not produce unnecessary collision ; but, if our hopes of a satisfactory adjustment of the question were disappointed, he knew that his fellow-citizens would go even to the death with him for his sugar. (He was interrupted by a unanimous burst of accord.) The last message of the President made it easy to forbear for the present, even with the most fastidious sense of honour. We are armed and in the trenches for the support of liberty, and we coolly and fearlessly await the blow.

We never heard a more hearty shout of applause than when General Hamilton most felicitously adverted to the coincidence of the *Natchez* sloop of war sent out by "the ruler of our destinies," having anchored in

the very place where the *Tamar* sloop of war anchored in the revolution (Rebellion Roads).

With regard to the President's call upon Congress to give him power to coerce South Carolina, General Hamilton said, that should Congress grant the authority, he should forthwith (as he was empowered to do as President) re-assemble the convention, and submit to them the question of secession, and none could doubt what their choice would be. If we were denied by the government of the United States the right of peaceably seceding, we would triumph in asserting it, or die in the attempt. This declaration was greeted with overwhelming acclamations.

Col. Preston followed in a speech, to the eloquence of which we cannot do justice in an abstract. He placed the inconsistency of Gen. Jackson in the most ridiculous light, and after exciting the utmost mirth at the expense of the ruler of our destinies, showed how mortifying it was to the state of the citizens of a state of this confederacy that the executive of the Union should so disgrace himself as Andrew Jackson has been induced to do by those who have practised on his imbecility.

He gave a vivid and true account of the enthusiasm of the interior; told how the violence of the proclamation had been thrown back, broken into mere froth from the rock of Carolina firmness; how even the women of our country laughed at the threats of the toothless tiger; but he warned us to watch the movements of the wild beast, now cowed by the glance of freemen, but who would spring upon his masters, could he catch them unawares. If Congress granted the modest request made in the last message for dictatorial power, why we could but fight it out. The whole interior were up in arms, and would pour in a torrent into Charleston on the first aggression; and if the power were usurped by Congress, and given to a malignant tyrant to fight us down, they would not disgrace us. We would die honourably, if we did not conquer. South Carolina had already done enough for glory, in that she alone had stood up against the proclamation, and snatched the thunderbolt from the would-be Jove, and shaken it in his face; and that while Virginia had shrunk from maintaining the principles of 1798, and was willing to show "that she meant nothing under heaven," South Carolina had, like her own jasper, caught up the fallen banner of state rights, and spread it to the breeze.

Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, lieutenant-governor of the state, was called to the chair, and Alexander H. Brown, Esq., appointed secretary. The chairman explained the object of the meeting; after which Judge Colcock made an address, replete with warm and enthusiastic sentiments of patriotism, and concluded by submitting the following resolutions:—

Whereas a public manifesto, under the style and title of a "Proclamation by the President of the United States," has been put forth as an authoritative exposition of the constitution of the United States, and the rights of the states in this Union; and whereas this edict of the executive affirms and expounds, and threatens to enforce by sanction of military coercion, the following points of constitutional law, viz:—

That the declaration of independence was made by the people of the several colonies as one community, and not by independent states, each acting by virtue of his own sovereignty, by which one nation was created, and not a confederacy of sovereign states.

That no state can be said to be sovereign whose citizens owe allegiance to laws not made by it.

That the judiciary in expounding, and the executive in executing, the laws of the Union, are the only functionaries who of right possess the power of finally and authoritatively deciding on the constitutionality of these laws; that this right does not belong to a state in the Union, but was virtually surrendered when "the united colonies" agreed to form a single nation.

That the "united colonies" having agreed with the other states to form a single nation, no state from that period possesses any right to accede. "To say that any state may at pleasure secede from the Union, is to say that the United States are not a nation, and that secession, like any other revolutionary right, is only to be justified by the extremity of oppression."

That a state having no right to decide in the last resort, whether the compact has been preserved or violated, this right devolving exclusively on the department of the Federal Government, the executive has the power to enforce by military coercion what he believes to be constitutional law, although declared otherwise by a sovereign party to the compact.

Resolved, That this meeting view with equal astonishment and indignation the claims of power set forth in the foregoing summary, which is a correct exposition of the doctrines contained in the text of the aforesaid manifesto.

Resolved, That the alleged origin of the Government of this confederacy, as set forth in the said proclamation, is historically untrue. That by disingenuous verbal refinements, its authentic history has been perverted to the extraordinary purpose of erecting on the ruins of the sovereignty of the several states a great consolidated Government "without limitation of powers."

Resolved, That it is an unfounded reproach to the memories of the great and immortal spirits who declared our independence and formed the confederation of 1776, to say that the consolidated Government was created by them, and not the confederacy of free, sovereign, and independent states.

Resolved, That the allegation also made in the aforesaid proclamation, that by the constitution of the United States a similar consolidation of the Government is ratified, is equally without foundation, as is proved by the separate and distinct capacity in which the states formed that instrument, assembled in its ratification and reserved to themselves all rights not delegated to the general Government.

Resolved, That the separate sovereignty of the state is in no degree affected by their delegating a part of their powers, to be exercised through a joint agency, called the Government of the United States, whose laws are alone supreme and binding on the states when made in pursuance of the constitution. We therefore utterly deny the flimsy sophism, that a state is not sovereign because its citizens are bound to obey a constitutional law of the United States made in strict conformity with an express power, which in her sovereignty such state has clearly delegated.

Resolved, That the claim which the President of the United States has set up by his previous acts, and the context and tenor of the aforesaid

proclamation, of being himself the final and exclusive judge of the constitutional validity of the laws, which he is called upon to execute, coupled with an avowed negation on his part of the right of a similar nature, appertaining to a sovereign party to the compact, not only puts "an inferior department of the Government, created by the compact above the sovereign parties to the compact itself," but stoops at nothing short of concentrating in the hands of a single functionary the whole power of a union.

Resolved, That we view with abhorrence the direct and immediate corollary flowing from the aforesaid premises in the aforesaid proclamation—To wit: That no state has a right peaceably to secede from this union.

Resolved, That we regard the ulterior right of secession as inseparable from the sovereign character of the parties to the compact, that no claim to perpetuity is set up in the instrument itself, not among the enumerated powers in any power given to the general Government to coerce a seceding state into the Union. And hence it ceases to be a subject of surprise, that in expounding a written instrument in which no such power is found, the President should have taken refuge in the poor resource of all arbitrary Governments for the justification of this power—the stale and dangerous pretext of state necessity.

With these views and sentiments, we not only affirm the right of a state peaceably to secede from the Union, should any occasion unhappily arise to require the exercise of such a right, but are prepared to peril, if need be, our lives in the assertion of this claim, so essential to the civil and political liberty of the states.

Resolved, That if we are shocked at the principles of arbitrary power which are avowed in the foresaid proclamation, we are equally mortified at the undignified vituperation and reproach in which the President has been pleased to indulge in the same against a sovereign state in this Union, acting through the highest organs of the constituted authority. Nor are we the less indignant at the menaces of military coercion by which the enforcement of an unjust system of government is threatened, and which we are prepared to meet in a manner that shall become the high duties we owe to our posterity.

Resolved, That we highly approve the manner with which the legislature of our state and its executive have met the crisis presented by the aforesaid proclamation, and have every reason to feel a just pride in the lofty spirit of the people of our state, who are prepared with united hearts, and strong arms, to fly to her standard, in vindication of her dearest rights and liberties.

Resolved, That the whole state-rights and free-trade party of Charleston will volunteer *en masse* to the governor; and that four citizens from each ward, and six from the neck, be appointed by the chair to receive their enrolment, that they may be organized and arranged to such uniform and beat companies as may suit their several inclinations, locality, and convenience.

Resolved, That we have seen, with the most lively satisfaction, the patriotic spirit which has impelled the citizens of the country parishes composing this district to organize volunteer troops of mounted gunmen, for the purpose of repairing to this city in case the public liberties of our

country should be daringly assailed : and we exhort our fellow-citizens to persevere in these public-spirited efforts.

Resolved, That this meeting has viewed with indignation the concentration, by the Government of the United States, of military and naval forces in this harbour, and on the frontiers of South Carolina, such concentration being uncalled-for by any public exigency ; and if intended to control public opinion by appealing to our fears to carry into effect the proclamation of the President, we must regard it as an impotent attempt to accomplish a most unwarrantable purpose by unlawful means ; an attempt which could only have originated in a total ignorance of the true character and condition of our citizens, whose past history has shown, that while they can be conciliated by kindness, they cannot be driven from their purposes by threats.

Resolved, That although we have felt it to be a sacred duty to manifest these determinations, and to express these sentiments, we have nevertheless seen with lively satisfaction not only the indications of a beneficial modification of the tariff, but the expression of sentiments in both branches of Congress, as well as in other quarters, auspicious to the peace and harmony of the Union, and that these indications shall be met by corresponding dispositions on our part—it is hereby declared, that it is the sense of this meeting, that pending the process of the measures here alluded to, on all occasional collision between the federal and state authorities, should be sedulously avoided on both sides, in the hope that the painful controversy in which South Carolina is now engaged may be thereby satisfactorily adjusted, and the Union of the states be established on a sure foundation.

Resolved, Should these expectations, which we sincerely and patriotically cherish, be disappointed, and the state be left to no other resource but in a firm reliance on her own sovereignty, we mutually pledge ourselves to each other and our country, to sustain the ordinance of her convention laws, made in consequence thereof, and our constituted authorities, be the hazards what they may. And in order that our citizens may be shielded from the payment of the protecting duties imposed by the act of Congress, pronounced by the convention of the people of South Carolina unconstitutional, null, and void, the chairman of this meeting is hereby requested and authorised to nominate and associate with himself three commissioners to open a correspondence with the citizens of the different districts and parishes in the state, for the purpose of organizing and forming a free-trade importing company, in order that, if practicable, the whole of the articles of foreign merchandize consumed by the people of this state may hereafter be imported, free from the odious and unconstitutional tribute which we have hitherto paid.

Resolved, That while this meeting sees with satisfaction from the President's recent message to Congress, that he now acknowledges that, under the existing laws and constitution of the United States, he has no right to resort to MILITARY FORCE, for the purpose of coercing the state, and of enforcing within her limits those acts which have been pronounced by her convention to be " unconstitutional void, and no law." Yet we cannot avoid the expression of our regret at the reiteration by the President of the imputation upon our citizens and constituted authorities, of a design

to levy war, or commit some act of outrage against the United States, when all our measures, as well as our public declarations, have manifested a determination not to resort to force, except the same should become absolutely necessary, in self-defence, to repel invasion, or to maintain within our own limits the authorities, rights, and liberties, appertaining to the people of South Carolina, as a sovereign state.

Resolved, That we should regard the conferring by Congress upon the President of the extraordinary powers demanded in his recent message, as a gross and palpable violation of the constitution of the United States, as investing the chief magistrate of this confederacy with dictatorial powers, and giving to the executive, to a certain extent, an absolute control over the lives, liberties, and property of the people.

Resolved, That the proposition made by the President to supersede the jurisdiction of the courts of this state over our own citizens, in cases arising under her ordinance and laws, and giving to the federal courts an absolute control over the judicial tribunal of the state would, if carried into effect, be utterly subversive not only of the rights of the states, but of every principle of civil and political liberty; and if submitted to, would establish amongst us a foreign judicature having cognizance of our state laws, and giving judgment in cases arising between our own citizens, contrary to the whole form and structure of our Government, and in manifest violation of the constitution, both of the state and of the United States.

Resolved, That while we cannot submit to the imputation of having acted rashly or unwarrantably in adopting measures of defence in reference to a system against which South Carolina has been in vain protesting for upwards of ten years, we deem it proper once more solemnly and publicly to disclaim all the objects which have been imputed to us, save only that of relieving ourselves from the operation of a system which we believe (in the strong language once held by our political opponents themselves) to be "utterly unconstitutional, grossly unequal" and oppressive, and such an abuse of power as is incompatible with the "principles of a free Government, and the great ends of civil society," and which we still believe must, if persevered in, reduce this fertile state to poverty and utter desolation, and her citizens to a condition of colonial vassals.

Resolved, That the executive committee of thirteen of the state-rights and free-trade party be revived, and that they be authorised and requested to take the proper measures, and that the whole party in the parishes of St. Philip and St. Michael may be organised in such a manner, as, when called upon to aid peaceably in our civil capacity as citizens, by the civil authorities of our state, it may be done with all possible promptitude, energy, and effect.

Upon taking the question on the preamble and resolutions, the same were adopted without a dissenting voice.

Committees were appointed under the resolution to raise volunteers.

Importing Committee—J. Hamilton, jun., C. J. Colcock, Ker Boyce.

On the motion of Colonel John Bryan, it was

Resolved, That we, the volunteers of the city and district of Charleston, will wear a blue cockade, with the Palmetto button in the centre, so

long as our services shall be deemed necessary, in maintaining the rights of the State of South Carolina; and all persons throughout the district, who have determined to support the state against military coercion on the part of the general Government, be and are hereby requested to do the same.

The meeting separated at ten o'clock.

MARKETS.

MONEY MARKET.

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

The Exchanges during the month have continued nearly the same, without any material fluctuation.

FEBRUARY 1.

FEBRUARY 26.

Places.	Nomi- nal Prices.	Time.	Bona fide Prices.		Nomi- nal Prices.	Time.	Bona fide Prices.	
			Bills & Money	Money			Bills & Money	Money
Amsterdam	12 2	3 Mo.	12 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 Mo.	12 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto at sight	12	Short	11 18 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 19	11 19	Short	11 18 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 19
Rotterdam	12 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 Mo.	12 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 2	3 Mo.	12 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Antwerp	12 7	—	12 6	12 6	12 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	12 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 6
Hamburg, <i>Mex. Bco.</i>	13 14 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	13 13 $\frac{1}{2}$	13 13 $\frac{1}{2}$	13 15 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	13 13 $\frac{1}{2}$	13 14
Paris, 3 days' sight.	25 85	Short	25 75	25 77 $\frac{1}{2}$	25 90	Short	25 80	25 87 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto	26 5	3 Mo.	25 95	25 97 $\frac{1}{2}$	26 15	3 Mo.	26 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	26 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Frankft. on the Main	152 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	152	152 $\frac{1}{2}$	154	—	152 $\frac{1}{2}$	153
Vienna, <i>Effective</i> ..	10 11	—	10 8	10 9	10 11	—	10 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	10 9
Trieste	10 12	—	10 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	10 10	10 12	—	10 9	10 9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Madrid	36 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	37	36 $\frac{1}{2}$	36 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	37 $\frac{1}{2}$	37 $\frac{1}{2}$
Cadiz	36 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	37	36 $\frac{1}{2}$	36 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	37 $\frac{1}{2}$	37 $\frac{1}{2}$
Bilboa	36 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	36 $\frac{1}{2}$	36 $\frac{1}{2}$	36 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	37
Leghorn	46 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	47 $\frac{1}{2}$	46 $\frac{1}{2}$	46 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	47 $\frac{1}{2}$	47
Genoa	26	—	25 97 $\frac{1}{2}$	26	26 15	—	26 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	26 5
Naples	39 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	39 $\frac{1}{2}$	39 $\frac{1}{2}$	39 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	40	39 $\frac{1}{2}$
Lisbon	47	60 days' date.	47 $\frac{1}{2}$	47 $\frac{1}{2}$	47 $\frac{1}{2}$	60 days' date.	47 $\frac{1}{2}$	47 $\frac{1}{2}$
Oporto	48 $\frac{1}{2}$	ditto	49 $\frac{1}{2}$	49	49	ditto	48 $\frac{1}{2}$	48 $\frac{1}{2}$
Rio Janeiro	34 $\frac{1}{2}$	60 days' sight	35	—	31 $\frac{1}{2}$	60 days' sight	31 $\frac{1}{2}$	31
Calcutta	*	—	22	—	*	—	21 $\frac{1}{2}$	—
Bombay	*	—	20	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	*	—	20 $\frac{1}{2}$	20

Tuesday, 26th of February, 4 p.m.

English Stocks.—Three per Cent. Consols, 87 half, five-eighths.—Ditto, for Account, April 12, 87 three-quarters, buyers.—Reduced, 88, one-eighth.—Three and a half Ditto, 95 one-quarter, three-eighths.—New, 94 five-eighths, three-quarters.—Four per Cent., 102 five-eighths, seven-eighths.—Long Annuities, 17 one-quarter.—India Stock, 207 half, 208 half.—Bank Stock, 199, 200.—Exchequer Bills, 41s., 50s.—India bonds, 33s., 35s.

Foreign Stocks.—Belgian Five per Cent., 85, half.—Brazilian Ditto, 58, half.—Chilian Six per Cent., 21, 22.—Colombian (1824), Ditto, 15 half, to 16.—Danish Three per Cent., 73 half, 74.—Dutch Two and a Half per Cent., 45 three-eighths, Half.—French Five per Cent., 104.—Ditto Three per Cent., 78, 79.—Greek Five per Cent., 34, 36.—Mexican Six per Cent., 33 half, 34.—Portuguese Five per Cent., 51 half, 2 half.—Ditto Scrip, 4 half, 4 dis.—Russian Five per Cent., 104 half, 5.—Ditto Metallic Five per Cent., 96, half.—Spanish (1822) Five per Cent., 17 one-eighth, three-eighths.—Ditto (1823) Five per Cent., 15 three-quarters, 16 one-quarter.

Shares.—Anglo Mexican, 12, 13.—Bolanos, 140, 150.—British Iron Comp., 18, 18 half.—Imperial Brazil, 59 half, 60 half.—Colombian 7 half, 8.—Del Monte 26, 27.—United Mexican, 9 three-quarters, 10 one-quarter.—Ditto New Scrip, 8 half, 9.—Canada Company, 44, 45.—Irish Provincial Bank, 29 half, 30.

CORN-MARKET, MARK LANE, February 25th.

ENGLISH GRAIN.

	RED		WHITE	
	Per Qr.		Per Qr.	
	s.	s.	s.	s.
WHEAT, Essex and Kent	52	to 55	..	54 to 60
Suffolk and Norfolk	52	— 54	..	54 — 56
West Country	52	— 54	..	54 — 56
Northumberland and Scotch	00	— 00	..	00 — 00
Irish	44	— 47	..	46 — 49
RYE,	00	— 00	..	30 — 32
BUCKWHEAT,				29 — 32
BARLEY, New Malting, fine				30 — 33
Do. stained.....24 to 27 Distilling.....22 to 23 Grinding..				21 — 23
MALT, Brown old 35, new to 47, Suffolk and Norfolk Pale 50 to 55,				
Stained 42 to 47 Ware				52 — 60
BEANS, Tick	New 28	— 30	..	Old.. 31 — 34
Harrow and Small	— 29	— 33	..	— .. 34 — 38
PEAS, Boiling, New	34 — 37	.....fine....	38.....	Maple.. 34 — 36
Hog and Grey				30 — 34
OATS, .. English, Feed...13 — 18	Short small..	15 — 18	..	Polands 15 — 20
Scotch, common 20 — 21	Berwick	21 — 22	..	Potatoe 22 — 24
Irish, Feed	15 — 15 6	Black	16 — 16 6	.. Ditto 16 — 19
FLOUR, .. Town-made and first Country marks				48 to 50 per Sack
Norfolk and Suffolk				41 — 43 —
Stockton and Yorkshire				39 — 40 —
Irish				40 — 42 —
OATMEAL, Irish				£10 to £11 per Ton.
BRAN, .. At the Mills				6s. 6d. to 7s. 0d. per 16 Bushel

Quartern loaf 8½d.

FOREIGN GRAIN.

						Per Qr.		Per Qr.	
						Free		In Bond	
						s.	s.	s.	s.
WHEAT,	Danzig, Koenigsberg, &c.					52	to 62	..	30 to 42
	Saale, Marks, Anhalt, and Magdeburg.....					45	— 55	..	24 — 32
	Silesian and Stettin.....					50	— 58	..	26 — 34
	Mecklenburg and Pomeranian					45	— 58	..	24 — 34
	Zealand and Brabant					00	— 00	..	00 — 00
	Danish and Holstein					44	— 55	..	24 — 32
	Russian.....Hard.... 48 to 53					Soft	40 — 48	..	23 — 32
	Spanish, Hard 43 to 48..Soft 50 — 52					White	52 — 62	..	26 — 42
	Tuscan and Roman.... Red 50 — 58					Ditto	56 — 62	..	36 — 42
	Odessa..... Hard 42 — 46					Soft	42 — 45	..	22 — 30
	Canadian.....Red 50 — 52					White	30 — 60	..	00 — 00
INDIAN CORN,	.....Red and Yellow 30 — 34					Ditto	30 — 34	..	00 — 00
RYE,	.....					32	— 36	..	22 — 25
BUCKWHEAT,	.....					30	— 32	..	00 — 00
BARLEY,	Bohemian, Silesian, and Sale.....					28	— 32	..	} nominal
	Danzing and Russian					24	— 26	..	
	Pomeranian and Mecklenburg					22	— 26	..	
	Holstein and Danish					20	— 26	..	
BEANS,	Tick					30 — 31	.. Small	33 — 35	.. 22 — 24
	Mediterranean					31	— 32	..	20 — 22
PEAS, ..	Non-boilers					34 — 36	Boiling	35 — 40	.. 24 — 30
OATS, ..	Dutch and Friesland, Brew					20	— 21	..	13 — 16
	Ditto Ditto Feed.....					16	— 17	..	11 — 12
	Russian, Feed					17	— 18	..	11 — 12
	Mecklenburg and Pomeranian do.					15	— 16	..	9 — 10
	Holstein and Danish, do.					15	— 16	..	9 — 10
FLOUR, ..	Danzig					per Barrel		21 — 26	} .. 17 — 23
	American					—		25 — 30	
	Canadian					—		25 — 28	

HOP MARKET.

BOROUGH, February 25th.—Best samples of Hops remain firm in value, although the business during the week has been limited.

PRESENT CURRENCY.

	£	s.		£	s.	
1832 East Kent.... Pockets.....	8	8	..	12	12	per Cwt.
— Mid Kent.....	6	6	..	10	10	—
— Weald Kent.....	6	0	..	8	8	—
— Kent Bags.....	6	15	..	10	10	—
— Sussex..... Pockets.....	6	6	..	7	10	—
1831 Kent	5	10	..	7	7	—
— Sussex.....	5	10	..	6	0	—
1830 Kent & Sussex	3	15	..	4	15	—
1829 Ditto	2	10	..	3	18	—

BACON.

	s.	s.		s.	s.
Waterford, on board	44	—	Landed.....	42	to 44
Limerick, sizeable, on board..	44	—	Landed.....	42	— 44
Belfast, middle, on board	39	to 40	Landed.....	39	— 40

BUTTER.

	s.	s.
Carlow, landed	70	to 85
Waterford, do.	68	— 72
Limerick, do.	74	— 76

CHEESE.

Cheshire	54	to 74
Double Gloucester	50	— 62
Single do.	50	— 56
Derby	56	— 58

There has been an unusual dulness throughout the month. No profit can be made on importation of Bacon or Butter from Ireland, or on Cheese brought from any part of England. The prices we have stated are merely *nominal*. A holder wishing to "raise the wind" would find himself at a loss for purchasers, without making a considerable abatement.

PRICE OF MEAT,

Smithfield, Feb. 25.

Per stone of 8 lbs to sink the offals.

	s.	d.	s.	d.		s.	d.	s.	d.		
Inferior Beef	2	2	to	2	6	Prime Beef	3	10	to	4	4
Ditto Mutton	2	4	—	3	0	Ditto Mutton	4	10	—	5	6
Middling Beef	2	10	—	3	4	Veal	3	8	—	5	6
Ditto Mutton	3	8	—	4	2	Pork	3	2	—	4	10

Suckling Calves, 12s. to 30s.; and quarter-old store Pigs, 12s. to 18s. each.

HEAD OF CATTLE AT MARKET.

Beasts, 2,522; Sheep, 15,880; Calves, 96; Pigs, 110.

HAY MARKET, Feb. 23.

At per load of 36 trusses.

	SMITHFIELD.		CUMMERLAND.		WHITECHAPEL.	
	s.	s.	s.	s.	s.	s.
Meadow Hay	45	to 50	40	to 45	45	to 50
Useful Meadow Hay	55	— 65	55	— 70	60	— 65
Fine Upland and Rye Grass	75	— 80	75	— 80	70	— 80
New Clover	75	— 95	80	— 100	75	— 100
Old ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—
Very fine	100	—	—	—	—	—
White Straw	30	— 33	28	— 32	28	28 32
Oat ditto	28	— 30	26	— 28	—	—